

A DISPROVFE OF M. NOVELLES REPROVFE.

By Thomas Dorman Bachs

ler of Divinitie

*Dignare ergo rescribere nobis, ut sciamus quomodo fieri possit, ut deus non solum
Christus de vero orbe perducatur, sed in tota sua habere possit. August. ad Romanos.
epist. 161.*

Vouchesauſe to write againe to vs, that we maye knowe howe it can be
that Christe shoulde seele his churche over all the world, and yett
haue it amongst you onelye.



Imprinted at Antwerp by Iohn Laet,
Anno Domini 1565. 3 Decembris,
with speciall priuileage.

A DISPROUVE OF
M. NOWELLES
REPROUVE

REGIÆ Maiestatis priuilegio per-
missum est Thomæ Dormanno S. Theo-
logiæ baccalareo, ut per aliquem typogra-
phorum admissorum impunè ei liceat
imprimi curare, & per omnes Burgun-
dicæ diuisionis regiones distrabere, librum
inscriptum: A disproufe of M. Nowelles Reproufe.
& omnibus alijs inhibitum, ne eun-
dem absq. eiusdem Thomæ consensu
imprimant, vel alibi impressum distrakant.
Dat. Bruxella. 17. Octob. Anno. 1565.



Subfig.
Pratt.

Imprinted at Antwerp by Iohn Iacob
anno Domini 1565. & 1566.
with special privilege

THE PREFACE TO
THE READERS, CONTEI-
NING THE ANSWERE TO M.
NOWELLES PREFACE.



If as in warre where worldly
titles be by dynt of sword to be determined / so in
skirmishes of learning / where truthe in doubtfull
matters is only attempted to be tryed out: where
gods gloire not mannes preferment is chieftye
sought: where the limites and boundes of Christs
eternall kingdome the church / not of worldly do-
minions which shall perishe and have their ende / are
defended it were lawfull (good Readers) to be false burthering / and
stratagemes to deceiue / to raise smokes to blinde the eyes of the simple
readers / as dothe the politike capitaine when to conceale the better the
weakenes of his power / which being knowne to the enemy might by-
de boldnesse / and encrease courage / he maketh fier of greene sawne or
swette strawes / that vnder the darcke smoke thereof he maye the sunfloure
be vnspied: finally if in controuersies about religion it were law-
full to saye with Alexander the Macedemonian / that where the lions
flynn will not serue, it maie and muste be eached wiche the case of
the foxe: then in this respecte the auctor perhappes of the Reprouer
might for this smoky pface of his haue deserued at your hands / the
name at the least and title of a wary and circumspect capitaine / and be
thought hereafter worthy / to haue the leading of a greater army then he
thereto he hath had. But if on the contrary parte / as the nature of the
thynges about the which in these two kinde of warres the strife is / is
contrary: so the manner of trial and conquest be also diuerse: if truthe be
strong enough of her selfe and neede not the helpe of by practises to be sup-
ported by: if her bright beames disdayne to be obscured wiche cloomy
mistes: then hath this auctor not furthered but hindred his cause: then
hath he discovered his weakenes / not shewed his prowesse / then maie
he be termed a cowardly souldiour / not a valiant capitaine. For we here
must desire you as many as will aduenture to giue iudgement of the
event of this conflicte betwene vs / to open the eyes of your understan-
ding / and to consider the vaine smokes whereby in this pface of his he
laboureth to blinde you / and to disgrace both me and all suche as haue
written of late in Englishe. The waye (you knowe well that be of the
learned sort) to bring this to passe / ought to be by comparing matter
with matter / cause with cause / and reason with reason. But the aduer-
sarye sayeing when it shall come to the close / and to the point / that
the matter must so be tried / how weak and feeble he is like to be founde
thought

Plutarch
in Laus.

THE PREFACE

thought it a pointe of wisdome / first before all thinges to get by steale
the possession as it were of our mindes / and there leaping preiudice
his lieutenant / him selfe to be afterwarde occupied about the residue
of his affaires. For this cause he raised these foule and thicke smokes /
that suche as haue written of late in englishe, be but seely transla-
tours or borowers of those booke, whose first authours they would
seeme to be, that therfore mistrusting that suche kinde of writing
or rather translating, should not appeare worthy to be accompted
the earnest doing of any learned or wise man, they haue done wit-
tely, either to preiend that to be written but lightly for a private
frende or twayne, and not ment to be printed &c. or elles to ap-
point suche to beare the name as authors of their booke, as maie
seme moste meete therefore, being accompted of all that knowe
them, for learning and discretio the simplest men emongest them:
that these booke haue bene elaborated at conuenient oportuni-
tie by common conference.

Beholde here I praye you, the fonde coniectures that haue smoked
out of M. Howells idle braine / wherewith he thinketh so to hymme
the eyes of all men / that he maie vnder these cloudes scale when he
will in to their bosoms. If no newe booke maie be made (as here he ses-
meth to mainteine) because all that can be spoken is saide already: if for
this cause / who so ever will wright nowe / shall be but a seely transla-
tour and borower of other: maie we not iustly saie to him and all suche:
who be now that obiecte to vs the translating out of other mennes laty-
ne woordes in to oure Englishe booke? Are youe not of the conspiracy
of them that robbed all the heretikes that ever wrote before you / to pat-
che vp poure clouted Apologie? Is there any one sentence there that
hathe not bene fulched from some one heretike or other? Your greates
Bassa, if his doinges be thus examined / is he not like to be nombred emon-
gest the seely translatours? If he should be cruelly called vpon to re-
troie to poure Apologie / to Musculus his common places / to his matter
Peter martir his note booke / the debte that he hathe borrowed of them /
might he not thinke youe become bankerout shortly? Your selfe also / and
that other that skirmisheth with the crosse of Christ / should youe be
in any better case / the one of youe borrowing from Caluin his instituti-
ons / Bientins / and suche like / the other takinge out of the historie of
Magdeburg / and the Englishe homilie against images / such matter as
he founde there ready framed to his handes? But what speake I herof?
sing that by this meanes / neither is there any newe booke now made
For neither made Cicero the booke De Oratore, neither Plato De Legibus,
neither Hipocrates his Aphorismes / neyther Aristotle his Physica,
because all these learned what so ever they wrote / of other that were be-
fore them. Thus muche maye be saide to M. Howells sustaining this
paradox (to deface vs to the world) that we are seely translatours,
because nothing can now be newly written for the maintena-
nance of the popes suprenacy, or any other matters whiche we
nowe

In the fir-
st side of
his pra-
face.

1.
2.

3.

To the 1.

*Nihil est
dilectum quod
non est di-
lectum prius*

M. Iuell.

T O T H E R E A D E R .

nowe treat of, but such as haue bene already bothe written and printed many yeares agoe &c. The which so strange an opinion/as for his small skyll some simple Idiot maye mainteine / so is it for the persone of M. Dowell/ one that beareth some countenance of learning/ and is in deepe in the place and rounne of a learned man/ altogether unfitting. And this I doubt not but he him selfe / aswell by the experience of his owne writing of late / as of other of his syde that wright daily / knewe well enough. But to muche Rhetorike made him playe the foole / and while he followed to heare the preceptes of his arte / he strayed to far from the rules of all good reason. For although it be a trick of Rhetorike / to labour to bring the aduersarie in the verie entry in to the matter / out of credite with the reader or hearer : yea is it a pointe of reason to forsee and prouide withall / that the meanes whiche a man directeth be not such as maye be returned against him selfe.

Well this being nowe in the hearing of M. Dowell (who peeped by like the thiefe in at the key hole) concluded amongst the catholikes in this solemn conference of theirs / that some thing shoulde be set forth in English / the next deuise was of the maner of publishing it. Which was (if the Reporter lye not) that because they mistrusted lest this kinde of writing or rather translating, should not appeare worthy to be accompted the earnest doinges of anye learned or wise man, they shoulde pretende either their bookes to be written lightly for priuate frindes &c. or appoint suche to beare the name as authors of such bookes, as were the simplest men for learning and discretion amongst them.

If malice had not altogether blinded him / and as it were bereued him of common sense / neuer woulde he haue abused your eares (good Readers) with such vaine toyes as these are. For there is none of you I trust / but that heudgeth better of the whole nombre of catholikes / then that he can be perswaded to thinke / that there shoulde be amongst them anye so wittollesse / (muchelless that a multitude shoulde agree in conference) to thinke / that to wright of a matter either in the same tongue or anye other / whereof an other hath written before / were a thing not worthy to be accounted the doing of any learned or wise man. Whiche if they shoulde thinke / what were it elles but to condemne all the learned writers of so many hundred yeares / of ignorance and lacke of witte / as either being seely translators or needy borrowes. Beside this / there is none of you I trust so simple but that he can easely imagine with him selfe / that it is not likely / that anye Catholike shoulde be so far from all reason / as to feare they that M. Dowelles fantasy surmiseth / having especially in his eye the example of heretikes them selues / who writing daily in the vulgar tongues / are yea therefore counted of none but fooles in deepe / the lesse learned or wise.

He noteth in the margent M. Doctour Harding and M. Bastell / for pretending their bookes to be written for priuate frindes. And why ought they not rather (being bothe of them to speake the best men of no in famous maners or godlesse consciences) to be beleuid / affirming the same in their severall prefaces to the Readers / then M. Dowell with

To the. 2.

THE PREFACE

his moste haine and unlikely coniectures/being already infamous for
bellying that learned man M. Doctour Redman/as to honest/learned/
and good men yea living it is notoziously knowen?

As for vs whome he calleth the simplest emongest the Catholikes
for learning and discretion: if that be true / so muche haue we the grea-
ter cause to rendze chanches to almighty God/ who hath preserved
free from the infection of their heresies / suche a nombre no wise lear-
ned/ nor of lesse discretion then we by goddes grace are. Who maye when
it shall please his wisdom to appointe the time/ and to moue the harte of
oure prince to call vs home / shewe oure selues woikemen in buyding
by that/which heretikes haue destroyed and pulled downe. But I feare
me and would it were not so/that euen in this pointe also/ M. Roswell
hath made a Rhetoricall ipe.

To the 3.

Luc. 16.

The nexte thing that he burdeneth vs withall / is common conference.
I would it were true that he saith to oure charge. If we were as
wise as we shoulde be/ it shoulde be true/ and we woulde in this pointe
imitate our aduersaries. But our sauour hath saide (it can not be false)

Filij huius seculi prudentiores filijs lucis in generatione sua sunt.

The children of this worlde be wiser then the children of light/ in their
generation. And so it happeneth vnto vs. But here I praye your good
readers/ marke how he doubleth and salteth in this tale of his/ that so
you maye the better vnderstande with whome you deale in this case.
First he saith that all oure doinges be but seely translations/ the whi-
che he maketh so easy a matter / that the meanest (he saith) emon-
gest vs (haue they onely a little vnderstanding in the latine ton-
gue) maye after this sorte loade them withe hauocke of bookes.
Here/ (forgetting that euer he spake these wordes) he saith that these
bookes haue bene longe elaborated by common conference.

M. No-
welles
tongue
salteth
in his li-
eng tale.

What shall we say? If this kinde of writing called by him transla-
ting/ be so easy as he maketh it/ what neede was there of longe or com-
mon conference/ whiche thinges be onely required in matters of greates
hardenesse and difficultie? What cause of feare of committing the han-
ding of matters of suche weight to a fewe / although youge men yea
vnderstanding the latine tongue as well as him selfe / then which lesse
knowledge by his owne confession woulde serue to loade them withe
hauocke of bookes? If this be true / what neede M. D. Harding or
M. Russell either/ to vse the aduise of their learned frindes/ to haue any
suruey made by others of their doinges/ seing it is well knowen/ that as
they are bothe hable to translate out of latine bookes before written in
to theirs made in Englishe: so they woulde for their wisdomes tran-
slate out of suche (beside Dightius / Cropperus / Mosius / whome in
this place he nameth) as being neuer yea by heretike answered/ haue by
the consent of all learned catholikes/ and very silence of heretikes/ bene
so alirady answered for sounde and good / that to make any doubt therof
nowe might seme a thing altogether needelesse and superfluous. Now
here againe I praye youe consider/ how unlikely it is / that euer any
wise catholikes shoulde be of this minde to publishe their common de-
uise vnto the worlde/ in the name of a fewe of the simplest sorte among
them? Their doinges M. Roswell saith were taken out of the bookes
of suche

TO THE READER.

of suche catholikes as had written before. This being granted, that
minding to overthrowe heresies they woulde choole out of the worst
who is so foolish to beleue. If they chose out of the best whome enue-
her selfe can not denie but to haue ben learned, & to haue written lear-
nedly. What a high pointe of policy had this bene, to make a scowe of the
simplest sorte among vs, to beare the name of suche learned men-
worshippers, whereas contrarywise the moste learned (if they woulde not
haue their counsell betrayed) shoulde haue borne the name thereof.

This being good Readers. M. Howelles moste fine discourse tou-
ching the late printing of certaine English booke: yow see I truste,
howe muche he hath set forwarde more hastily then wisely. Yea he is
pon the same as a truth moste clearly proued, bringeth in a compari-
son betwene the chiefe of the catholikes, and the Phariseis sending
their disciples to Chaste to appose him, when for feare they durst not
come in presence them selues. And to giue the more auctoritie herto,
he bringeth the exposition of Chrysostome thereupon. A solemne inter-
pretation in a matter not necessary, and a sadde bringing in of wit-
nesse to proue that that is not in question. For till this be first proued
that the catholikes had suche politike fetches as he imagineth to resem-
ble them to the Phariseis, and to alleage Chrysostomes interpretation
vpon the place, it was to giue a sad sentence cleane beside the matter.
But such is the noble courage of M. Howells: Rather must be Chaste
and he one of his disciples, yea though he be Judas that betrayed his
maister, who so euer saye naue, as in the pcedence of this Repondit of
his, wherein nothing is with him more common, then to call vs Pha-
riseis, and him selfe and his companions Apostles and disciples, moste
euenly it dothe appeare. Wherein he seemeth to me (I maye saie with
better right then he applyeth) against vs the exposition of Chrysostome
to resemble very muche madde bewitching of Babilon, who perswadech
him selfe and woulde all other to beleue the same, that he is descended of
the bloude royall, his father being well knownen to be a meane man, and
a buyer of a fowle.

Hether to hathe M. Howells in generall wordes laboured to before
the doinges of suche as haue written of late in English: nowe step-
peth he from thence to me, against whome his speciall grudge is. Of
me he saith thus, that it was no greare labour to borowe out off
my maister D. Harding his booke so lately before written, of au-
thorities and reasons ready framed to my handes, so muche as li-
ked me &c. secundarily, that they that doe knowe me better then
he doth, merueiling of my doings in diuinitie matters, doe thinke
that I haue all my learning not of inheritance but by legacie &c.
For the first he might haue betraid me at my worde if it had pleased
him, signifieng in the peface of my booke, as well to him as to all other,
that it was intended to be made, and the greatest parte thereof finished,
before that euer I vnderstoode that M. Doctor Harding ment any
suche thing. And of this coude I bring right good witnesse, if either
I thought my credite not to be as good as M. Howells, or the thing it
selfe imposed so muche, that the trial of the truth of the contentes of
my booke

Roffensis
Pighius
Groppe
Hofius.
Alphonsus
de Castro.

The 41
side, and
to speake.

THE PREFACE.

my booke depended thereupon. Nowe as for them that knowing me better then M. Nowell dothe / merueille at my doings in diuinitie: surely I can let no man to merueille at his owne shabodie if he list. Of this I am suer / that there is no cause why I should care muche for this their iudgement who so euer they be. If M. Nowell haue reported it truly. For he that is so foolish he to make his account / that learning maie descende by inheritance / or be bequeathed and receaued by legacie / what were it but to be more foole then he / to care for such a foolish sentence. But I beleue if the matter were well scanned / it woulde fall out to be one of M. Nowells owne denials / vttered nowe in the name of some other / because he him selfe had so lately before pronounced / that I had taken my auctorities and reasons ready framed out of M. Doctor Herdinges booke / which if I had met with the suche a legacie / it might haue seemed needesse to haue done. But be it his / or be it whose it shall / suer I am that the auctor thereof is none of my acquaintaunces / for neuer was I yea acquainted I thanke god / with so very a foole. Notwithstanding for the satisfieng of his greete merueiling / maye it please M. Nowell when he meteth him nexte (if it be worthin letter to aske of him by what meanes he that was but Bachiler of arte in the same collage that I was of / when I was bachiler of the lawe / staid by so lone a preacher at Dowles crosse / and a publike reader of englishe diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Oxford: May it please him further / for he removing this scruple th at so troubleth him / to demaunde of him / whether I were not as likely at that tyme in the iudgements of as many as knewe he bothe / within three yeares after to write the booke that I haue written / as he was within lesse then the space of one yeare after / to occupie the place at Dowles crosse / or to preach and reade publicly diuinitie in Oxford: Which sermones and lessons (suche as they were) woulde haue made diuers booke (he maye be holde to sell this merueiling manye) every one of them by many partes greater then mine. If these questions be asked / I dare assure you / this olde acquaintance shal be either thoroughly satisfiied / or forced to cōfesse the cause of difference to be because as saith Tertullian: *Nusquam facilius proficitur quam in castris rebellium, ubi illic esse promereri est.* men come forwarde no where sooner then in the tentes of rebelles / where the very being is to be aduanced.

Where M. Nowell scoffeth at my proceeding bachiler of diuinitie / this I doe him to vnderstande / that I proceeded not vpon the bridge / but in the publike schooles / in the face of the whole vniuersitie / in the presence of an honorable and a learned audience. I answered for my degree in two seuerall questions / the first being. *De primatu summi pontificis*: the other. *An liceat homini Christiano diuersore ab vxore propter adulterium, & aliam rē.* I disputed after the manner of the schooles a question out of the Sentences pro & contra. I declaimed in the masse of the studie of diuinitie: I reade for my fourme the beginning of the .6. chap. of the first epistle of S. Paule to the Corinth. And all this vnder a moste learned

A shift to conuey a ly.

Sir Greshop.

Lib de pre-script. heretic.

He meaneth the scholes of heretikes rebelling against God and his church.

TO THE READER.

and president (as to the world his sundry writings have made him known for no lesse) *Mathew Galeus P. scapellius*. Now I behaued my selfe in these exercises, if modestie would suffer it; I could here by the inserting of the testimonie of the vniuersitie and the seale therof, make it appeare to the world. Thus I trust without offence being bidden thereto by mine aduersary I may be bolde to saye / yea in conscience I take my selfe bounde to saye / seeing this contemptuous abusing of me / tendeth to the only discrediting of the catholike faith (which by goddes grace I maintaine) that my demerits was suche / as neither my countrie sustained dishonour / nor my selfe dishonesty / nor the parte of the questions which I chose to defende (being yea the first of them / impugned with an learned arguments as *M. Howell* hath hether to brought) any prejudice in the iudgement of the learned hearers: as by the degree bestowed vpon me by the collage of diuines / and the honest commendation giuen to me by *Franciscus Baldamus* / sent while I answered in the first question two houres together / afterwarde it appeared. Thus muche hath *M. Howells* slanderous repute / forced me (good readers) to write of my selfe / which otherwise it could haue becomeed me in no wise to haue done. If his good Maister *M. Grindall* / would trye them as well and sift them as neare / whome he admittereth to preach at *Posoles* crosse (a place sometimes for bacheliers and Doctors in Diuinitie) as I was tryed / suche sorte of vniuersities but mostly railing sermons / should not be made there as daily there are. Howe I could here imitate *M. Howells* Rhetorike / were I disposed to enter in to suche vaine contentions and fruitlesse comparisons / and tell him also / that some one of his acquaintances who knoweth him better then I do / earnestly also at his doings in diuinitie matters / the knowledge whereof being neither to be founde in *Robertus logicke* (wherein his greatest learninge studye both was in *Oxford*) neither in Westminster schole where Terence his comedies will giue no place to *Posoles* epistles / he thinketh that he met at *Geneua* by elles where / with some scattered scraps of *John Caluins* old / cold and out of wayes / hereticall diuinitie / altho he thinketh he could neuer returning home / before he was knowne to be a student in diuinitie / become so suddenly of a meane scholermaster / so valiant a preacher. I must perhaps / the same spirit that hath created of late diuines (not on the stage but in their shoppes / or disputing vpon the alebenche for their degree) so many times / coblers / cowheardes / broome men / fiddlers / and suche like / haue also made him a preacher amongst the rest.

Howe followeth a reason of *M. Howells* / why not prouoked as maye seme, he answereth my booke written against the B. of *Sarisbury*. I thinke no man will merueille of his writing / and therefore he might haue saied that cost and rather haue satisfied men in this / why writing only against the firste leaues of my booke / he is so impudent leaving the substance untouched / to pretende that he answereth my whole booke.

After this he addeth certaine other causes / why he answered no sooner / and why he proceeded no further. He saied he saith in answering / because he understode at the length / that *M. Doctour Harding* his booke

The. s. f. de s. Now if any doe marueile.

THE PREFACE

* That
temporall
princes
maye not
gouerne
in religio.

The 7. fi-
de & But
whē I had
passed.

booke and mine were so agreeable in substance that M. Iuell who had then he heard saye made hys answer to D. Harding readye to printe/ should in answering the one in effecte haue answered both/ and ther- fore he would in no wise preuent his good Lord. That this is a false for- ged cause inuented only to saue the honour of the brotherhode. Who lingered so long in answering/ he that hath readen bothe oure bookes will easely perceiue. For of the seconde proposition handled in my booke it is cleare that it hath no maner of affinitie with any article han- dled by D. Harding. Excepte M. Howelles discretion will serue him to saye that if M. Iuell should be able to disproue the popes suprema- cy it woulde folowe thereupon that laie princes should gouerne in causes of religion. Whiche if lacke of due consideration I should moue him to saye yea the wisdom of other would not suffer them to beleue. And therfore this being no article of M. Doctour Hardinges/ it was neuer likely that M. Iuell would euer doe suche a worke of super- erogation/ as to encombe him selfe any furder then occasion was giuen him. Besides/ if this were the cause of M. Howelles staye/ why be- gan he then to answer me at all. For sothe he preuenteth this objection by saying/ that he knewe not before he begonne/ that oure two bookes were so agreeable. Now forsothe a discrete wytter by his owne confes- sion/ that will begynne to answer a booke before he hath readen it ouer. Is this credible good Readers. And yea thus must it nedes be were it true that he pretendeth. Excepte having reade ouer my booke/ he had not readen M. Doctours/ against which neuertheless being longe in England or my booke came/ he had pttred before his malice at Howelles crosse/ and therfore bylike had first readen it/ or elles like wyghter like preacher. But well knowe all men/ that that graue and sober sayed heade of his/ coulde not admit any suche rash and temerarious facts/ and therfore this was but a zelouse lye/ wherby to excuse the common lingring of them all/ he was content to hazard his owne worship. For whereas nowe he feared lest it would be espied/ that all this patched tale is but a lewde lye/ seing that he nedes no more to feare to go before M. Iuell in answering my whole booke/ then in answering sithene lea- ues thereof/ which hauing in his handes he might haue chosen whether he would haue deliuered to the printer or no/ to helpe that he saith: For euen nowe being come thus farre, the Bishoppes answer as the reporte went being then not fully finished, and many good men muche desiring some answer, and as many aduersaries as muche bragging that their bookes would neuer be answered, the councell of some frindes, and continuall bragge of so many ad- uersaries, caused me to suffer this little taste as vntimely fruite, the sooner to come abroade. You must here imagine good Readers/ that euen last at that tyme when the reporte went that M. Iuelles answer was not fully finished/ M. Howell was come to the 15. leaf of my booke. You must also thinke that this knowledge was brought to him by common reporte/ because youe maye not suspecte any conference betwene them. But aboue all thinges as youe tenderlye regarde M. Howelles good honestie/ youe muste vnderstande two repor- tes/ and one of them a false reporte/ or elles must be a false reporter. And all

TO THE READER.

And all this dothe M. Nowell because for his experience he knoweth that a lye maye better be fathered vpon reporte of common vniuersite / then vpon one man alone. The first reporte cried as it were to M. Nowell: holde youre handes for goddes sake the B. of Sarisburie hath killed them bothe with one blowe. His answer to D. Harding is already made / and ready to print. Verupon M. Nowell (as he is a verie pitifull hearted man) lothe to kill them that were already deade by and by stated. But this was false reporte / who knew no secret out of sight / but in commeth the other reporte / accompanied with certificate of M. Nowelles frindes / and here began a newe crye / that he shoulde giue the onser / the hil hoppers hande was not yet ready. And so he did / so harde a matter it was for him and his companions / to obtaine (they had gone so long vpon their credite) any longre time of sustaining the expectation of M. Iuelles answer / at the handes of either frindes or aduersaries that needed man M. Nowell be chrest first against his will / to go before M. Iuell. How likely these pretences are to be true / time will discover if M. Nowell stape here and goe no further. In the meane season how likely they are to be true / the wise will be able to iudge by the circumstances of this his halting and doubtful tale.

We are now come to that parte (good Readers) of M. Nowelles preface / wherein he giueth certaine reasons / why he hath so diligently / largely / and as it maye seme carefully also / answered me: whose owne doinges he assermeth / to be more worthy of laughter then of any earnest answer. A perouse it troubleth M. Nowell to thinke / that ~~some of his owne doings~~ are so. But I purpoise him the lesse because he made the matche him selfe. His reasons are / that he answereth not the reasons alleged by me as mine / but as D. Hardinges / and nor only D. Hardinges / but of Eckius / Pignius / and Holius / yea & of all those that haue written in latine for the popes ylrped power &c. As the noble courage of M. Nowell / for whom no one man can be founde alone able to matche with him / but they must be all called furthest once / that euer wrote in latine for the popes supremacy. Which seing it is so / now be of good comforte M. Calhill / who is only for some yow sake was / that M. Nowell had not a more learned aduersarie. Yow see that there is not only no cause of sorrowe / but much occasion to reioyse / that with the answering of 15. leaues of my booke / all that euer wrote for the pope shall be answered in me. Where was youre witte when yow feared this? I thought yow that M. Nowell should not prouide for suche a towele diem he to his honour. But to the matter I am not ashamed good readers to confesse / that in writing this the learned arguments of suche as haue handled the like matter before / and that if any reason be weaker then other / they be those especially that be of mine owne framing. And is it not so thinke yow with M. Nowell / Those amongst yow that be of the learned sorte knowe that it is so / for that in answering him I answer their Apologie / Caluin / Luther / Melancthon / Bucer / Gentius / Peter Martyr / in whose writings the like reasons are to be founde / and that what so euer he hath not in them / is soall be founde / and worthy to be answered. The seconde

6 Nowe
that I haue

The first

Calhill in
epist. ad
Martham.

The 2.

THE PREFACE

reason why M^r. Dowell answereth me so diligently and carefully is be-
sareth / because I haue set furthe a booke, sclaunderouse not to se-
uerall persones only, but to oure whole countrie, to oure lawes,
and to oure gratiouse Soueraigne, whome (he saith) I charge as v-
surping vnde auctoritie: sclaunderouse, not at home onlye, but
abroade also in foraigne countries. Wherefore whome so euer I
shewe my selfe to be, and how sclaendre an answer might best be-
come me, he thought it shoulde become him not sclaenderly to
esteme the honour of his prince, his duty to his countrye and to
the lawes of the realme, but with earnestnesse to repell suche re-
proches, as I haue attempted to blemishe them withall.

As I haue sclaundered in my booke private persons, nor saide of any
one that which is not publicly knowne to be true: so haue I in the
whole discourse thereof, had that regarde to my duty towarde my moste
redoubted Soueraigne, that reuerence to her lawes / that naturall affec-
tion to my countrie, that although truthe of her selfe be sowre and hate-
full / yet haue I bene allwaies moste far from these sclaunders where-
with I am burdened. Neither doubt I anye thinge, but if not before /
yet in that greete hope of reuelation her highnes shall moste clearely
see / whether oure plaine dealing be sclaunderouse to her persone, or their
hypocriticall flattery traiderouse to her soule: whether he be a good bishop
or no / *quidam* (to vse the wordes of S^t. Ambrose) *in sacerdotale subter-*
nit, that bringeth the spiritt right in subiection to laye men. I charge
god neuer her highnesse with the vsurping of diuine auctoritie: I charge
god those clauwebchers & flatterers, pastures for forcing vpon her graces
tittles which I take in him selfe as I moued denied to her father. And now
I charge them againe for the same, and adde therunto besides, that they
are the men them selues that are sclaunderouse to the Quene, to her la-
wes, to the whole realme. First for bringing in lawes ecclesiasticall the
like whereunto in all christendome are not to be soune: then for forcing
vpon her graces a title, which no king or Quene christened will be
sufficient about all thinges for this, that they that call her graces
gouernour in all thinges and causes as well ecclesiasticall as temporall,
are noted, not at home only but abroad also in strange countries, moste
lewdely to abuse the same / whilst euen in a matter of no greater im-
portance then is the wearing of a square cappe / they refuse the style of
the supreme gouernour in all thinges and causes (as in wordes they
call her) ecclesiasticall and temporall: whilst for the signe of our redemp-
tion (the crosse) which her maiestie beareth moste vntersany in her
chappell / she is in her owne realme by a booke printed and let forth by
a meane and base subiect, maliciously compassed, whose name foraigne
princes thinke of such a continuely / if as her graces affection towards
the crosse is unknowne to none, to the same knowledge of the title of
suche an infamouse libell rather then a booke, he thought to the eares of
any of them? But what maie they saye, if vnderstanding the tongue,
they shoulde reade within some leaues of the beginning. As for hir
private doinges, neither are they to be drawn as a president for
all, nor any ought to cpe in to the princes bolome, of euery facte

Anbr. lib.
3. epist. 32.

Folios
a. in my
first boke.

The pro-
testantes
doinges
sclaunde-
rouse to
the Quene
and the
realme.

Calph. in
epist. ad
Maximem.
pag. 7.

TO THE READER.

to iudge an affection. What could they gather herof but that the princes honour were villanously touched, as though in religion which is but one and therefore not subjecte to change, he had hse one religion her selfe, and beliver an other to her subiectes: as though, which is worse, she kepte for hir owne private vse the had, and gaue to the rest the better: yea, which is yett worst of all, as though she should pretend one thing outwardly, and be of an other affection inwardly, which coulde not be perceiued but by creeping into hir bosome. But if he that setteth forward so unhappely, saile the rest of his course wiche no better fortune, he should in all wise iudgement haue done more wisely, if he had continued still in the quiet haven at the ancre wherat once he laye, then he had the daye by committing him selfe to the merrey of the windey & waues of these troublelous seas of controuersies, wherein no skillfull pilot, then he sheweth him selfe to be, maye easily make a foolish shipworke, and be cast awaye.

These be the slanderous persons good Readers, whom M. Nowell (if he haue that regarde to the honour of our soueraine ladye the Queene, his dutie to oure countrye & lawes thereof, that he pretendeth) will shortly haue in the chace, and let me and such as I am alone, who protest neuer to desire to liue houre longe, then we shall be contented to be like true subiectes vnder the humble obedience of oure gracious soueraine, whome we acknowledge to be the image of God in earthe, in all ciuile and politike gouernement. But nowe here I praye you be holde, how M. Nowell that maketh these greates bragges of repelling wiche earnestnesseliche reproches as I haue attempted (he saith) to blemishe my prince, lawes and countrie withall, quitieth himselfe of his promise. Woth he not euen then when he cometh to that article where these surmised reproches shoulde be, let hake and gine ouer in the plaine field: Is not this repelling wiche earnestnesse, a plaine mockery to be laughed at, when about the matter that made him (he saith) to wright so carefully and diligently, of 124. leaues, he bestoweth not fully thre: when he endeth there, without entring in to the article, where he shoulde rather haue begonne.

The thirde reason that hath moued M. Nowell to wright the more largely against me, he expresseth in these wordes: because the simple & vnlearned readers haue often best liking in bookes more boldly then learnedly written, and are mozte in daunger to credite most lewde and slanderous lyes, I therefore, haue in answering more at large, applied my selfe to such as be of meane vnderstanding, to whome the guilefull dealinges of the papistes can not with breuitie be made manifest. These be M. Nowells causes for his excuse why in so many wordes he hath bitred so little matter. But the truth is, when after longes fretting of curtesy amongst the brethren which of them shoulde answer my booke, they all agreed first in this, that something must needs be saide thereto, and finally that M. Nowell of all other shoulde take the matter in hande, as he that for his rare gift of railing were best able to feede the humour of such simple

The prince
goddes
image in
earthe.

THE PREFACE.

and vnlearned / as here him selfe saith / haue often best lyking in booke more boldly then learnedly written, then he deeply considering / that the greatest vantage that he coulde finde against me / must be by making men beleue / that the places of *D. Cyprian* . *D. Hierome* and suche like / brought for the confirmation of that first proposition of myne / That there must be one head in earth to gouerne christes church, were alleaged directty for the *B. of Rome* supremacy / to the whiche being contayned within the compasse of 15. le. of my booke / if he shoulde but answer after like proportion / his answer were like to be counted but a twopenny booke / and he for no better then a three-halfe penny doctour: his high wisdom in respecte of these considerations founde it best / to dilate so that little stuffe that he had to vtter / that he might seme to haue made a tust volume / and to haue answered therein the whole. For this respecte / because to haue intituled his booke: A Reproue written by Alexander Nowell of a piece of a booke &c. had bene to greate a blemishe to his worship / and call it a confutation or an answer to my whole booke by any meanes he coulde not / he deuised to terme it a Reproue of my booke / a word as he thought suche / as in reuoyung only 15. leaues he might seme to be able to iustifie / and which shoulde sounde in the eares of the vnlearned (not accustomed to looke so narrowly in to the nature of wordes) as muche as a confutation of the whole. For this cause / to pacifie the learnede sorte whome he sawe he shoulde not be able by suche a tricke of *leger de main* so easily to deceiue / and who shoulde he knowe well not stape at the title / but take a diligent viewe of the contentes of the whole / he ransacking all the corners of his tugglers bore / brought furthe at the lengthe a tricke of *deceptio visus* / whereby he woulde make them beleue (as you haue heard) that *M. Doctor Hardinges* booke and mine were so like in substance / that *M. Juell* in one shoulde answer bothe / and that therfore his further traueill shoulde be needlesse: whereas posse knowe / that my seconde proposition & the whole conclusion of my booke / haue no maner of agreement with any argument handled in *D. Hardinges* booke.

Now haue heard the effecte of *M. Nowelles* smoky preface / wherein all his labour taken is bestowed to this end / to excuse the not speedy answering of the whole brotherhod / his owne parcell answering / his so large & earnest answering to so meane a man as I am / finally to deface me and other that haue written / by moste lewde / foolish / and untrue furnishe. Which neuerthelesse he aduoucheth so confidently / as though he had bene present at *Rouaine* and pryuey to all our doinges / and thoughtes / yea and to more then euer we thoughte too. Wherin how vaine he hath bewed him selfe to be / if nothing had bene saide all ready / euen this that he hathe of *M. Russell* / whome he affirmeth to haue had his booke lienge by him readye made foure yeares at *Rouaine* (whereas yea he hathe bene scarce on this side of the seas halfe foure yeares / & at *Rouaine* wher he printed his booke not foure full monethes) were alone sufficient to declare: This deceitfull dealing of his / by defacing vs to the world / withed so wel hym that came nexte after him to wrighte / that he thought his parte not to be wel played / vnlesse he endeouered alsoe to inforce him selfe to doe the like. And for this cause forsothe ruffling in the figure of *Ruffinus* / he calleth

The true
cause of
M. Nowel
les so large
writing.

VWhy he
termed his
booke a
Reproue.

arguall
table
in the
margin

Nowell
in his pre
face 3. side
35
Calfhill
in his epi
stle to M.

TO THE READER.

calleth M. Doctor Harding. Apostate: at my name he scoffeth calling
 me worthy Man who gave but a Dor. M. Rascelles because it sape not so
 open to his scoffing spirite: he depraues vitrely / calling him Rascall.
 But o I woulde it might please almighty God / who hath bestowed vpon
 him whome he so calleth / so bountifullly so manye excellent giftes of
 vertue and learning / that they were bothe thoroughly knowen to the
 worlde for suche as they are. Then shoulde my Rascell to speake the lea-
 ste / be founde to be as farre in all respectes from all base and vile condi-
 tion / as this shamelesse man is him selfe from all honesty and Christian-
 like behauiour in so calling hym. To M. Stapleton this painted poppet
 threateneth dyce blowen / yea wisely vnder an if / and in the name of an
 other. The booke of Graphylus he compareth to a Ruffians sworde al
 to be hacked / calling by the waie a moste learned and grane counsellour to
 the late Emperour Ferdinandus / Ruffian. In dede there was a rude blacke
 Smythe / that did the best he coulde to breake the edge and to leaue son e
 gashes in this sworde / but those litle nicks that he made / the owner
 therof grounde out so conningly againe / that the edge of it was after moze
 sharpe then euer it was before. Lest al this should not be enough to discre-
 dit vs / last of all he chargeth suche of vs as being in Louain haue ben of
 newe collage / wylke the smoky styrres blowen in Scotland, the fyry
 factions inflamed in Fraunce, the Pholish treason condemned in En-
 gland, the popishe conspiracy attempted in Ireland. Commeth not
 this thinke you of a high wit / and a greate discoursing heade? Thanks
 be to God it is yea no horned beaste that assaulteth vs thus cruelly. He
 chargeth vs with gaping for bishoprikes / but surely if hym selfe laboured
 not ambitiously to be chiefe counsellour to some layde of misrule at Christ-
 mas / he woulde neuer haue streined so farre the strengthes of his simple
 brayne / as by this moste singular discaurle vpon these late troubles and
 treasons (which beside him selfe neuer a man I beleue in England coulde
 haue dreamed of) to giue a moste vnboubred experiment / what wonders
 he were able to worke by his witte: he listeth to vnde it. But this is
 the iudgement of oure aduersaries / when to the doctrine that we defende
 they are able to sape nothing / to deface as muche as in them lieth our per-
 sones by vnttrue surmises / by false and scandaulous reportes / by all mea-
 nes directe or indirecte. For this they are once as it should seme by their
 doinges perswaded (howe trauye God he knoweth) that they shall be able
 to write nothing so absurde / that shall not with some get credite / and sin-
 de friendely entretinment. Wherefore this is good Readers the common
 request of vs all vnto you / that reiecting vitrely these vaine / vnttrue / and
 impertinent exceptions of oure aduersaries / whereof youre eares be
 longe since full / it may please you to haue a diligent eye to the matter it
 selfe / and not to suffer youre seies to be thus shamfully abused / and ca-
 ried from thence to suche scandaious considerations as are these: whether the
 writers be yong men / or olde / many in conference / or fewe alone: whether
 they write in shorte space / or take long leysure: whether they translate or
 make of their owne. For surely they that propose these exceptions / as it is
 an evident argument that they mistrust their cause / so seme they not to sa-
 uour of the spirite of humilitie / which seeth nothing but the honout and

Martiall,
 and pre-
 face to the
 reader.

*How mu-
 che better
 woulde
 this name
 haue be-
 come M.
 Iuell, that
 of a catho-
 like beca-
 me an he-
 retike, of
 an hereti-
 ke a catho-
 like, of a
 catholike
 an hereti-
 ke againe?

*Iacobus
 Smidelinus.

*Staphyl.

In defens.

Apol. g.

Calf. fol. 17.

b. 33.

T H E P R E F A C E

gloire of God/ but of that arrogant spirite of Sathan/ that hunteth after his owne praise.

For the ordre that I haue obserued in the answering this Reproue of M. Howelles/ knowe ye that because (as yow maye perceiue in reading the whole) he hath mingled manye impertinent discourtes/ suche as is this of thre leaues/ of Cardinales/ of their battes/ of their moyses/ wherein are not thre lynes of necessary knowledges/ suche outrages I haue willingly omitted/ and haue not bounde my selfe to folowe his steppes when he roueth so at Random. Alwayes yea I couide not I confesse so staye my selfe/ but that sometimes I haue yealded to the folye of the aduersary. Which if yow mi like as iustly yow maye/ let yea I beseeche yow this qualifie in some parte my faulte/ that the disorderly writing of M. Howell/ hath constrained me thereto. His wordes I alleage wholly with a distincte lettre/ (noting in the margent the leafe/ the side/ and the lyne of his booke after this sorte: fol. with a. or b. for the first or seconde syde/ & a figure for the nombre of the lyne) as often as they shall be of importance. Otherwise either I alleage the beginning of them with this note &c. referring yow for the rest to his booke/ as it is noted in the Margent/ or elles taking his conclusions and prouffes/ confute only them. His often repetitions of the same thing/ being once or twise confuted I vse to passe ouer/ and meddle with eall no more. Finally this of the whole I maie I trust be holde to saye/ that the aduersary shall haue no cause to cauil/ that I haue passed ouer any thing of substance brought by him/ vnanswered. Maye it please yow therfore for recompense of my paynes/ to reade the whole/ to giue the gloire to God if any thing there be wherin yow shall take comfort/ and last of all/ to praye for me in yowre earnest prayers to God.

To the pretended bishoppes of Englande.

M. Iuell
in his an-
swere to
D. Cole
his 2. let-
tre.

TWVO thinges I haue bene required to demaunde of yow. The first is/ seeing one of yowre felowes prouoked vs first to writing/ & withed before we began/ that the Quenes maiestie woulde not onelye sett vs at libertye/ but also commaunde vs to shewe owre groundes/ that nowre/ forasmuche as we haue so freely of oure owne accorde without constrainte/ begonne so to doe/ and as we haue in parte satisfied this request of his/ so minde accordingly by goddes grace to procede/ either for goddes sake and the loue that yow beare to the trieng out of the truth/ either for his credite sake/ who making this chalyenge maye otherwysse runne in to suspition of ouer much rashenesse/ as without the common consent of yow all (which is not likely) presuming so farre/ either elles for the poore honestie of yowre cause/ which nowre beginneth to beare euill and hang downe the heade/ either for all these causes together/ yow shall furceasse to lye in waite any lantage for oure booke (containing the groundes of oure faith) that we daily sende to yow/ for the merchanten that bring them/ generally for all them that bring desirous to knowe the truth/ buye them/ reade them/ and kepe them. Otherwise/ if yowre waye to confute vs be by the imprisoning and punishing of suche as haue oure booke/ consider how true it will be that one saide/ that yow fare as if yow shoulde saie to a man bounde hande and foote/ come strike me and thow.

Dare.

T O T H E R E A D E R .

darest / and how little true meaning there wold be thought to haue bene in those greate bragges of your common champion / and how greate feare in you all / lest his late Replie beinge clerely confuted / and shewed mooste evidently to be as shortly in parte / and yett if he long for the whole I dare assure you it shall no other then a lincke of most shamefull blasphemies and impudent lies / your kingdome of darkness come to utter ruine / and extreme desolation withall. Beare not the word in hande that you coulde be contented that our booke were bute sent and reade / might it so stande with the Quenes mooste gracious pleasure. His zelous affection towards the trieng out of the truche / with your earnest suite to haue had the bringinge the in to the realme by proclamation for bidden / the realme knoweth to well to be nowe abused at your handes by such hypocriticall colours. Neither are our bolkes such (God be praised therfore) as breathing treason against our prince / and stirring the people to rebellion (suche as you sent us last of / of late yeares) either such as be at home / should be alcarde to reade and kepe / or we that are abrode / to commend and intreate for.

The seconde thing that I haue to demaunde of you / is / whether you will iustifie the booke let furthe of late without priuileage (contrary to the order appointed by the Quenes maiesties iniunctions) against the treatise of the crosse / or whether you caused it to be sent out as an epye / to searche the mindes of the people / how they coulde brooke and digest the contempte of the aunient fathers of Christes church / that so either if they shoulde not mislike it / you myght with the more honour (whiche you knowe will be the ignominious ende of M. Iuelles proude challenge / notwithstanding his large Replie) despye the fathers / charge them with errors / call them proude and blasphemous / as the authoꝝ therof (answering right well to his name) a Calf in so doing for his witte / a Hill for his swelling pryde / calleth M. Cyprian beinge a glorious Martyr / or if they shoulde mislike therewith / you might vent / shifting as well as you coulde with the olde challenge / save of this newe bystarre / that it was but the bellowing of one Calf / not the roying of your fatte bulles / and stalled oxen / and that therfore his doinges ought in no wise to preiudice you. The suspicion of suche false measure / by the sendinge furthe of this boke without priuileage (whiche you are not wont to doe) first kindled in vs / M. Iuell him self hath since not a little encreased. who in his late Replie to M. Doctor Harding / hath not dissembled the matter so craftly but that it maye be perceined how littell in the ende he meaneth to giue to the olde fathers / saye that notwithstanding the liberall offer made in his Sermon / to giue oꝛer and to subscribe to him / that could proue to him by any one cleare or plaine sentece / either of the scriptures / or of the olde doctours &c. that the B. of Rome was called for the space of 600. yeares after Christe an vniuersall bishop / or heade of the vniuersall church / commeth nowe in his Replie after all these bragges / and saith / that if M. Cyprian had called the B. of Rome vniuersall bishop / or heade of the vniuersall church / that then M. Harding might seme to haue some honest colour for his defence. So that nowe a plaine sentence (although of M. Cyprian not muche more then 200 yeares after Christ) will not serue / as thus which giueth but only a colour / For so are his wordes

*Calfhill
fol. 103. A.
calleth S.
Cyprian
proude
and blasphemous*

Faultes escaped in printing.

Leafe.	Syde.	Lyne.	Faulte.	Correction.
23	a	25	wolud	woulde
		26	ouerthrowe	ouerthrowe
27	b	25	tho warte	thow arte
51	a	32	betwe	betwene
57	b	3	saunderouse	slaunderouse
58	a	29	asin well	as well
64	b	2	places	places
65	b	3	præbiterum	presbyterum
74	a	24	ades	heades
81	b	25	Macedonio	Macedonia
82	b	5	nexte chap.	nexte chap. saue one
96	b	6	Agipto	Egipto
98	b	26	Aricans	Africans
108	a	1	toke on	take on
155	b	10	amfuer	amfuer
179	a	15	churchand	churche and
182	a	13	not not cō-	not compare
192	b	23	*fidei (pare	ecclesia
198	b	1	call then	call them
205	b	32	African	Africanes
			esbeare	beare
211	b	7	inipiet	incipiet
			*ipsa est sedes	ipsa est petra
			Petri	
			shall not	doe not

*Specially
to be cor-
rected.

*Specially
to be cor-
rected.

In margine.

86	a	21	Dorman.	Nowell.
108	a	28	Goddes	gooddes.

If you finde any other faultes I trust you will frendely amende them
yourselues, and confidre that we printe not wih the suche ease as doe
oure aduersaries, whose bookes yeat lacke not their faultes.



God save the Quene.



A DISPROUFE OF M. NOWELLES REPROUFE.

THAT the sentence prefixed before my booke to proue the
Protestants Schismatikes, was not abused: and that M. Nowell
hath passed ouer in silence the chiefe points in it.

The. i. Chapter.

I TOLDE yow M. Nowell before, that in this youre
long Reproufe of mine so fewe leaues, yow had for youre
pleasure walcked oftentimes farre out of the way, and that
therfore I woulde in no wise binde my selfe all waies to fol-
lowe your steppes. As euen here in the very entrie (to giue
men to vnderstande what they are lyke to finde yow in
youre whole proesse) leaving S. Austens interpretation
upon the place of scripture wherby he proueth them to be
the rauening wolues that are schismatikes, and to be in
schismatikes, he communicate hys with all nations, not
those churches that haue bene founded by the Apostles
labour: yow slyly slip from that to youre owne, and beate
vs in hande that we are the Phariseis of whome our Saviour
our spake the saide wordes. Because we walcke grauely in long
garmentes, pretende long prayers &c. Leaving therfore all this
by ralcke of youre, as wide from our purpose, I will come
to the pointe of the question, which is betwene vs M. No-
well, whether I lacked iudgement or store of choyse in
choosing this sentence of S. Austen to sette before my bo-
ke, or no. Of the which I saie, that all were it so that yow
had clerely vanquished S. Austen, and proued that this
texte had bene to be vnderstande against vs, because we go
in long gownes grauely, and yow clime in clokes vp in to
pulpites, or walcke in long robes lightly: yeat had this

A DISPROVVE OF M.

proved in me no lacke of iudgement at all, who folowed
for mine auctor the best learned (as yow are wont to call
him) of all the auncient doctours. But nowe if S. Austen
applied the place truly, then haue yow reproued bothe S.
Austen and me falsely, except yow will pleade not guiltie
to the schisme, as here yow doe verie clerckely, and so after
youre wide wandring beginne at the length to approche
some what nearer to the matter. For yow make (yow saie)
no other schisme from vs, then did S. Paule make from the high
priestes, Scribes, and Phariseis, and withall yow turne the
edge to vs, and saie that we haue made a schisme &c.

Nowell.

Dorman.

Martin.
Luther.

If yow departed from vs because we were schismatikes,
and in this yowre departure ioyned your selues to Christes
true church, then by this reason of S. Austens, we at that
time communicated not with all nations, and yow in your
revolt from vs returned to that faith which all nations ve-
fied. Dare yow saie this for shame M. Nowell? If yow be so
shamelesse that yow dare, then cast your eyes to frier Lu-
ther dur blasing there, that gave the first dymme lighte to
yowre newe gospell, and confides whether at that time all
the churches in the worlde were not of one beliefe (the sa-
me that we nowe defende) himselfe being the man, who
standing post alone emongest all the rest of the worlde,
taught after the continuance of Christes faith so manie
hundred yeares, contrarie to all the men, to all the priestes,
to all the bilhoppes, to al the churches in the same, the sub-
stance of that doctrine which yow nowe teache. What re-
maineth then by S. Austens iudgement but that yow be
the schismatikes, and so the ravening wolues of whome in
this place he speaketh?

Of this because yow were not ignorant M. Nowell yow
in yowre answere to this place passe over in greate silence
these

these wordes of S. Austen *per nos enim communicat omnibus gentibus*, for thou doest not communicate with all nations) wherein the wise and learned see that the pith and force of S. Austens reason dothe consist. For to proue Petilian and his companions schismatikes and so rauening wolues, he reasoneth thus: *Utho se enim communicat non with all nations, and those churches builded by the Apostles labour is a schismatike. But thou doest not Petilian communicate with all nations &c.* Ergo, thou arte a schismatike. Nowe Petilians name being turned in to youres M. Nowell, it foloweth verie well: Ergo, M. Nowell and his companions, who communicate not with all nations, nor with those churches, (of which Rome being founded by the labours of Peter and Paule is rightly termed the chiefe) that haue bene builded vpon the Apostles labours: Ergo, M. Nowell and his felowes be concluded by S. Austen to be schismatikes and rauening wolues, without all helpe of exception, vnlesse he will flee to this miserable refuge to saie, (cotrary to Caluin his master) that this church of theirs reuealed first by Luther, was euer before inuisible, and so defende not onely an inuisible communion in his inuisible church, but graunte also, that there was ouer the whole earthe suche an vniuersall darekenes, and terrible Eclipse, that ~~omnis gentes~~ all nations, were also inuisible. Ergo, (because M. Nowell yow saie I am so full of my conclusions) this sentence was not placed by me in the forefront of my booke either for lacke of store, or iudgement. Ergo, to saie (as you doe) that this place moste directly detecteth the schismaticall secte of all papistes (for so of youre goodnes it pleaseth yow to cal vs) is a lowde and a lewde lye. Ergo, yow haue lefte one sentence of one olde doctour, and that the verie firste of all vniuersall. Ergo, yow haue made an other lye, who promised

Lib. 4.
de H. cap. 1.

Alie. 1.

Alie. 2.

misde to leave no one such sentence vnanfwered: Ergo,
(the reader maye iudge by this; how likely yow are to deale
truly hereafter, that begin so trustely.

Thus the places alleged by me oute of S. Cyprian, Lib. 3.
epist. 1. and lib. 4. epist. 9. were alleged to the purpose.

The. 2. Chapter.

Nowell.
Fol. 2. b. 7

I conclude therefore, that these places are by M. Dorman fal-
sely, and shamelesly alleged, to make a shewe, or as he calleth it
an introduction to the B. of Romes auctoritie, whereunto they
appertaine nothing at all, but onely to the euersion thereof.

Dorman.

I neuer brought these places M. Nowell, to proue the
popes supremacie. Yow nede not therefore to trouble you-
re selfe with the proufe of this, that they appertaine to the
deacon disobeying his bishop Rogatian, and to Papianus a-
busing S. Cyprian. But although I graunte yow thus
much M. Nowell, yea that these places because they proue
not the popes supremacie, appertaine therefore nothing
at all to him, but only to the euersion of his auctoritie, that
faulcie and vntrue conclusion I can in no wise graunte to
yow: not although yow thinke to vnderproppe that rui-
nouse collection (as yow doe) with this splendre staye,
that there is not one worde in these places of the bishop of Ro-
me, or hys Supremacy, nor he as muche as once named therein.
For yow shoulde haue considered M. Nowell, that I entre-
ate here in this place of the maner and nature of heretikes
and schismatikes. Which is I saie to rebell against their hea-
des, to contemne their superiours and lausfull gouernours.
Nowe as youre selfe woulde not I trowe saie, that if anie of
yow shoulde by writing or anie other vnlausfull meanes
(which god forbid) go about to stirre vpp the people a-
gainst oure lausfull Quene, he shoulde speake impertinent-
ly to the purpose, that to dissuade them therefro, shoulde
begin his purposed talcke after this manner: Remembre

Fol. 2. a. 1.
q. 4. 6.

belum

6 A

my

my frendes, that the nature and propertie of heretikes is and allwaies hath bene, after that they be once waxen strong, to rebell and make warre against their lafull gouernours: Remembre the late tumultes rayled in Fraunce by the Huguenotes there against their gouernour: as I saie, it is not to be thought that yow woulde reiect this mannes exhortation, calling it impertinent to the matter, tending to the euersion of the Quenes auctoritie, because the example brought, was of disobedience to an other prince, betwene him and his subiectes, and not in termes of the Quenes oure maistres: so surely ought yow no more to haue quarelled against me bringing these examples out of S. Cyprian. Especially seing that I presupposed and afterwarde proued in the discourse of that article, that the B. of Romes auctoritie was no lesse ouer the whole church in spirituall matters, then is that of other princes ouer their seuerall kingdomes in temporall iurisdiction. The which point (if yow had done ordrely) yow ought first to haue confuted, that so iustlie after suche disproufe yow might haue reprobued the applieng of these auctorities.

There is no mention made in anie of these places of the B. of Cauntorbury, ne yet of London neither, although youre selfe graunte that by these places yt is proued, that euery inferiour ought to be obedient to his owne bishop as his superiour, and that the disobedience of such is cause of schismes and heresies. Whereupon what letted me in my preface, to applie aswell these places to the disobeing of the B. of Rome, although he be not there named, as for yow when the case shall so requier, to applie them to the bishoppes of Cauntorbury or London, no more there then the pope mentioned by name. Who is as I saide before as truly the bishop of the whole church, as anie other is ouer his owne

Fol. a. b. 14.

propre

A DISPROVE OF M.

propre diocesse. Yow go forward and saie.

Nowell.
fo. 2. b. 19.

Onely this is moſte euident in what ſenſe ſo euer S. Cyprian taketh theſe wordes (One biſhopp that ruleth the church) the B. of Carthage is that one biſhop, and not the B. of Rome, and therefore that phraſe of one biſhop can make nothing for the B. of Rome his ſupremacie, but rather dothe vtterly ouerthrowe it, as appertaining ſpecially to the B. of Carthage in Africke not to the B. of Rome in Italie: and declaring in dede the biſhoppes of all places to be equall in auctoritie, and conſequently ouerthrowing the ſupremacy of one ouer all.

Dorman.

I denie not but that this phraſe maye here ſpecially appertaine to the B. of Carthage. No more ought yow make ſtrange to confeſſe, that if S. Cyprian woulde ſaie that hereſies and ſchiſmes riſe of the contempte of the B. which is one in a diocesse, muche more of him which is one in the whole church, and who is the chiefe and roote of biſhoply ordre as ſhall hereafter be by S. Cyprian declared. And thus yow ſee, that I applied it not euill to the purpoſe, although it proue not immediatly the popes ſupremacy, the thing which here I take not vpon me to proue. That which yow ſaie of theſe teſtimonies, that they declare the biſhoppes of all places to be of equall auctoritie is a moſte vaine and impudent lye fathered vpon S. Cyprian.

A lye fathered vpon S. Cyprian.

That the place of S. Baſile was alleaged to the purpoſe, and that the ſame and the other taken oute of S. Cyprian, are bothe falſely impugned.

The. 3. Chapter.

Nowell.

It is farre (yow ſaie) from all purpoſe that I alleage by patching here and there out of Baſilius magnus his 69. epiſtle to the biſhoppes of Italy and Fraunce &c.

Dorman.

If yow in this *Reprouſe* of youres had brought nothing further from the purpoſe, it woulde neuer by the tenth parte haue bene halfe ſo greate as it is. For I tell yow once againe

againē that my purpose was not here (as yow vntuly surmise) to proue the B. of Romes supremacy. My meaning was to perswade men to continue and abide in the obedience of the heade of the church: the rather, because as Cyprian before gaue a generall rule, that all heresies and schismes rise by going from the heade: so here S. Basile exemplifieth the same, in that vnreuerent demeanure and vnseemely behauour that the Arrians of his time vsed towards their heades and gouernours: how saie, yow maketh the place for this purpose or no?

I abuse bothe the Readers, mine owne, and other mennes time (yow saie) in charging yow with the crimes of those men whose heresies and wickednes it is well knowne yow detest.

Nowell.
fol. 3. b. 1.

I trust no man thinketh so but yow and youre felowes M. Nowell. For standing the case so, that yow detest the Arrian heresie where withall I charge yow not and therefore yow haue beelied me: yea maye yow this not withstanding right well agree with them in other their euill maners. I will not charge yow to be infidelles with Iulian the Apostata, yea is youre hatred against the crosse of Christe no lesse then his.

Dorman.

A lye. 4.

Yow note me in the margent for turning the wordes *presidentias inuadunt*, they inuade and sett vpon their heades, and saye: He shoulde haue saide, they doe inuade the chiefe roumes or places, and againe for ioyning *blasphemias protulit*, to those which folowe *ad populi episcopum*.

Nowell.
fol. 3. a. b.

For the first I susteine that I translated the wordes well and truly, as he shoulde, that woulde giue to the worde *potestati resistit* in S. Paule, this englishe, resisteth the magistrate, by the figure called *Metonymia*. As for the faulte in pointing (if it be one) yea of this am I suer, that neither

Dorman.

Rome. 13.

is it

A DISPROVVE OF M.

is it greate, nor came of malice suche as it is, but of some suche small ouersight. as maye happen some time to the diligentest writer that is. Howeuer it be, this thorigorouse noting thereof maye giue men to vndrestande; that it went harde with yow when yow were driuen to seke after suche aduauntages.

Nowell.
b. 30.

Yow saye of this place of S. Basile, that it dothe moste liuely represent the doinges of the Papistes.

Dorman.

Youre onely proufe hereof standeth vpon a heape off sclaunderouse lies: Because the place of S. Basile is extant to be seene, I will trouble no fardre the learned reader, but desire him only to confer it with the these M. Nowelles sclaunders.

Nowell.
fol. 4. b. 22

Here M. Nowell yow charge me once againe with a conclusion, gathered (yow saie) out of that which hetherto hath bene alleaged out of S. Cyprian and S. Basile, and saie that I am not ashamed to applye the places before mentioned to the proufe of the B. of Romes supremacy.

Dorman.

First, I gather here no conclusion out of the places before alleaged, and therefore applye not by the waye of concluding these auctorities to the B. of Rome his supremacie, and so that is an other lye. It is a *transition* rather, so drawn out of the 3. first alleaged auctorities, that it serued also to make a steppe, and a newe degree to the seconde pointe touching more specially the pope: wherein I much maruell that yow shoulde so fowly misse youre termes M. Nowell. And as here yow missed the quishin: so plaied yow as homelic a parte in making me to reason vpon the pretended conclusion in this wise: The entry into all heresies is to make open warre against the bishopp appointed by God to be the laifull gouernour and heade of the churche: but the B. of Rome is the bishopp appointed by God, to be here in earthe the laifull gouernour and heade of the churche. Ergo, the entrie into all heresies is to make open warre against the B. of Rome.

A lye. 5.

M. Nowell maketh me to reason after his pleasure.
Fol. 5. a. 1.

The

The which reason althoughe it be moſte true in it ſelfe, and I minded to defende euery parte thereof, yeaſt reaſoned I not ſo here, but minded only in this place to paſſe to the example of Nouatus the heretike, that as before I had ſhowed how heretikes in diuerſe particuler churches went from the obedience of their laufull biſhoppes: ſo here I might ſet before the Readers eyes one, who ſpared not euen the Biſhop of Rome him ſelfe, that ſo this propertie of heretikes and ſchiſmatikes might appeare and be the better proued, while they forſake not onely the inferiour biſhoppes, but him alſo that is the chiefe of all other.

But what if I had reaſoned as you woulde make me to reaſon McNowel, might I not haue defended that argumēt trowe you? Yeas forſothe might I, not prouing my *minor* by this place of S. Cyprian, but ſuppoſing it to be true, till ſuche time as I came to the place where it ought to be proued. So that you nede not to tormente and vex your ſelfe about theſe wordes (*the biſhopp appointed by God to be the laufull gouernour and beade of the churche*) which I neuer alleaged, (as you vntruly ſaye of me) to proue directly the B. of Romes ſupremacie, but only to proue *A fortiori*, that muche greater occaſion there was of heresies and ſchiſmes, when men ſhoulde departe from the obedience of the pope the chiefe biſhop of all other, and therefore neither without cauſe or guilefully to deceiue the ſimple, as you vncharitably ſurmise. Which your ſelfe alſo perceined verie well, and therefore by the figure called *extenuatio*, you terme this reaſon of mine a ſimple collection, after this maner. *I ym ſigne ſignatibz. hinc inchoat.*

Now if he thinke yeaſt that he might make ſuche a ſimple collection of S. Cyprian and S. Baſile his wordes as this, that as the beginning of heresies in their time was the contempte of the inferiours towardeſ their owne biſhoppes (for ſo Saint Cyprian tea-

1107

B

cheth

Nowell
fol. 5. a. 30.

A DISPROVE OF M.

cheth) so in likewise is the contempte of the Pope as the highest of all bishoppes, the beginning of heresies nowe: First I denie the argument, for that it foloweth not, though it be euill for the inferior to disobey his owne bishop to whose obedience in all godlines he is bounden, therefore it is euill for a straungier not to obey a straunge forraine vsurper, to whome he oweth no dutie of obedience. Againe I saie, though it be the beginning of heresie to disobey Cyprian, Rogatian, yea or Cornelius being godly or catholike bishoppes: yea is it not likewise the beginning of heresies, to disobeye any the late Popes of Rome, who were not only no godly bishoppes (as were Cyprian, Rogatian, and Cornelius) but bothe mooste wicked, and in deede no bishoppes att all, but false vsurpers of worldly tirannie. Whome for the subiectes of an other Christian and lafull soueraigne to obeye, and not to disobey, is the beginning of heresies, treasons, and other mischiefes.

Dr. man.

This is my simple collection you saie. I acknowledge it for mine as simple as it is, and to youre double answere thereto replye as foloweth. First, to the first, that it is mooste false that you laye for a grounded truthe, that the bishop of Rome is a forraine vsurper, as when I so gathered in my introduction I minded to proue in the handling of the first principall article of the popes auctoritie, and so fence haue done. Whereof seing youre selfe are not ignorant, you haue delt not simply but doubly, labouring to deceiue the simple, by defacing (as you thought) my preface as vnskilfully written, for that I haue there only layde and not proued, that the pope is the chiefe heade of Christes church in earthe, whereas that I referred (as by good ordre of writing the learned knowe I ought) to the first article of the popes supremacie. To the reasons and proufes in which place brought, as in all youre answere you neuer come neare, but cauill and wrangle against my Introduction, whiche sheweth the cause of schismes to be disobedience against pastours and bishops: so if they be applied to this place as they must, then shall it appeare how falsely
you

you saye, that the wordes of S. Cyprian were alleaged without all cause.

But because the whole force of this first answere of yours to proue my argument naught standeth in this, that the bishop of Rome being a forriner, no suche reason can be made from S. Cyprian and S. Basile his wordes: I will here ouer and aboue that which I haue allreadie saide in the handling of this article in his propre place, presently proue by S. Cyprian and S. Basile bothe, that he was taken by them for no foriner, neither in Africa, Fraunce, Spaine, neither yeat in the Easte church, of the whiche S. Basile was.

The pope
taken for
no foriner
by S. Cy-
prian and
S. Basile

For Africa first, was the B. of Rome thinke yow taken there by S. Cyprian to be a forraine vsurpar, whose church he called *ecclesia catholica radicem & matricem*, the roote, and mother church of the catholike church? If the church of Rome be the roote and mother to all other churches, then, if the mother be aboue the children: if the mother and roote be no foriners to the children and branches of the tree, it will folowe verie wel, first that the church of Rome, as it is no foriner to the churches of Africa and to the other churches through out the worlde, but aboue them all, that so the bishop of the same is aboue the B. of Carthage and all other bishoppes, and no foriner or vsurper. And as carnall children how farre so euer they lytue from their naturall parentes cease not therfore to be their children, nor their laide parentes become therby forriners: euen so the bishop of Rome who gouerneth that church that is mother to all other, ceaseth not to be a father to his children dwell they neuer so farre of. Was the B. of Rome reputed a straunger to the bishoppes of Africa, who vsed to sende their legates to him to pacific matters,

Afrike.

Lib. 4.
epist. 8.

Lib. 4.
epist. 8.

A DISPROVE OF M.

Apud Au-
gust. epi-
90.

Lib. 1.
Epist. 3.

and to bring knowledge of the truth? Whose commu-
nion to holde, S. Cyprian calleth in this epistle the firme
holding and allowing of the vnitie and charitie of the ca-
tholike church. When all the African bishoppes assem-
bled together in council, directed their lettres to the bishop
of Rome, praying him to confirme their doings by the au-
thoritie of the Apostolicall See, *pro tuenda salute multorum
& quorundam peruersitate corrigenda*, for the preservation
of the healthe of manie, and the amendement of the fro-
wardenes of diuerse: toke they him thinke yow for a forri-
ner? If S. Cyprian had had of the See of Rome that opinio
that you would gladlie persuaide men he had, woulde he
thinke we haue saide of those schismatikes that failed oute
off Africa to Rome to complaine vpon him to Cornelius:
Post ista adhuc insuper, &c. Beside all this they haue bene so
bolde hauing appointed to them by the heretikes a false bishop, to
saile euen to Peters chaire, and the principal church from whence
priestly vnitie sprang, and to carie from schismatikes and prophe-
ne men, lettres: not considering that the Romaines are they whose
faith by the Apostles mouthe is praised, and to whome false faith
can haue no accesse? Woulde he haue saide: *Romam cum men-
dacijs suorum merce nauigarunt, quasi veritas post eos na-
uigare non posset, qua mendaces linguas rei certa probatione con-
uinceret*: They are failed to Rome with their marchandise
of lies, as though truth could not faile after them, able to
conuince their lieng tongues by suer and vndoubted prou-
fe? Naye he shoulde, and woulde you maie be suer had he
bene of youre minde, haue saide: Let them go on goddes
name, what care I for the bishop of Rome. Shall I be so
foolishe to folowe them to debate the matter before him,
who is a plaine forriner to vs, and hath nothing to doe
therein? For thus woulde yow I dare saie, at this daye an-
swere

swere, if one shoulde go to Rome and complayne of you. But nowe considering that saint Cyprian saied not thus, but contrariewise made his account to stande with them and trie the matter before the bishop of Rome, as it is manifest by these wordes (*as though the trithe coulde not faile after them, &c.*): seing that this whole epistle was chiefly written to Cornelius to exhorde him to giue no credite to those schismatikes, as by this amongst other may appeare, that he saith to Cornelius; *Non ascendas numerum &c.* Consider not their nombre: seing that the wordes, *rei ceræ probatione convincere*, to overcome by evident proufe, againe: *Ita enim scelera festinant quasi contra innocentiam festinatione præualeant*, for so do wicked deedes hasten as though they shoulde by haste preuaile against innocency, be wordes of iudgement (for where be prouffes offred, where doe men preuaile in lites but in iudgement?) finallie, seing men that thinke them selues wronged, neuer vse to complaine but to such as they are perswaded haue auctorite to helpe them, of al these thinges it foloweth, that in Africa where S. Cyprian gouerned, the Pope was taken to be no foriner. Nowe from Africa to Fraunce.

Of Arles a towne in Fraunce was bishop in S. Cyprians time one Martianus, a folower and professour of the heresie of Nonatus. Of him S. Cyprian writeth to Stephanus the Pope in this wise. *Dirigantur in prouinciam & ad plebem Arelate consistentem a te literæ, quibus absento Martino alius in locum eius substituat, & grex Christi qui in hodiernum ab illo dissipatus & vulneratus contemnitur, colligatur*, that is to saye: Adresse youre lettres to the prouince and people of Arles, by the which Martianus being excommunicate, an other maie be put in his place, and the flocke of Christe which to this daye being scattred and wounded is contem-

Fraunce.

Lib. 3.
epist. 13.

.c.iii.72

A DISPROVVE OF M.

ned, may be gathered together. Now confide I pray yow that haue learning and wisdom to iudge, whether it be likely that S. Cyprian if he had taken the B. of Rome to be a for-
 riner in other countries, would haue euer willed him to haue sent suche lettres, as whereby he shoulde excommunicate, and depriue of his bishoprike a stubborne or wilful heretike, when with as good right as M. Nowell dothe here, the heretike bishop might haue bidden him go shake his eares foreine vsurper as he was, and meddle in his owne diocesse with excommunicating, depriuing and placing of his owne subiectes, and let Arles in Fraunce where he had nothing to doe, alone. Confide whether these wordes (*and the flocke of Christe scattered &c. maye be gathered together*, doe not argue as muche, as that when peculier pastours doe not their duties, recourse ought to be had to the bishop of Rome the heade and chiefe shepherd of all? Finally Let M. Nowell confide, whether he would him selfe (hauing that opinion that the B. of Orleans for example, in Fraunce, were as he is, a forriner in England) write vnto him, to sende his lettres to the citie and people of London to excommunicate, and depriue M. Grindal because he is an heretike. If he would not (as that is to be iudged) trulie he shoulde doe S. Cyprian wrong to make men beleue that he would playe suche a foolish parte as he would not him selfe. It foloweth therefore, that in Fraunce by the iudgment of S. Cyprian the B. of Rome was taken for no forriner.

Spaine.

Of Spaine, whether there the B. of Rome were a forriner, let the restoring of Basilides by Stephanus the Pope to his bishoprike, be a witnesse. Against which sentence when S. Cyprian with the other bishoppes of Africa gathered to gather defendid *Sabinus* the newe made bishop, they had

no other thing to object, but that *Basilides* the heretike had deceined *Steuin* the bishop of Rome, *longè positum, & rei gestæ, ac veritatis ignarum*, dwelling far of, and being ignorant of the case and trueth, by wrong information: If *Steuin* the Pope had bene taken by S. Cyprian to be a forriner in Spaine, woulde he not rather haue taken against his sentence that peremptory exception, then haue vsed that which confirmeth his auctoritie in Spaine? For seing the sentence was vniust for no other cause, but because the suggestion was vnttrue, it foloweth that if it had bene true the sentence had bene good, and the iudge not forreine but lausfull. Otherwise shoulde S. Cyprian neuer haue saide: *Neque enim tam culpandus est ille cui negligenter obrepit, quam hic execrandus qui fraudulentè obrepit*. For he is not so muche to be blamed that was stollen vpon by negligence, as he is to be abhorred that guilefully did steale vpon him. But he shoulde contrary wise haue saide rather: He is not so much to be blamed, that for helpe his own matter tolde a false tale, as he is to be abhorred, that would presume being a forriner, to meddle in strange countries where he had nothing to doe. But S. Cyprian saide not so, and therefore vpon this place, and also the vertue and holines of *Steuin* considered, who dieng after for Christes faith a blessed and constant martyr, woulde not it is like doe willingly suche wrong as to inuade an other mannes iurisdiction, I maye be bolde to conclude, that as in Africa and Fraunce, so in Spaine also, the B. of Rome was by S. Cyprian taken for no forriner.

To come nowe to S. Basil. Let his epistle written to *Athanasius*, wherein he sheweth his aduise to be, that the bishop of Rome be written vnto, to sende his legates in to the Easte where they were, to condemne the false councill

Cyprian
Lib. 1.
Epist. 4.

Epist. 51
How the
Pope was
esteemed
of S. Basil.

of

of *Arimini*, be a sufficient testimony, whether at that time his power were counted forraign or vsurped. For if they had iudged his auctoritie there to be none, neuer would they haue vsed this word: *ut ipse auctoritatem rei conciliet*, that he may get auctoritie to the matter, or deuised betwene the selues to haue such men sent frō Rome as might be meete to gouerne, and admonishe those that shoulde be founde forward and peruerse amongst them, to vndoe and overthrow the actes of the heretical councell holden at Ariminum before. If S. Basile had taken the bishop of Rome for a foriner, neuer would he haue sent to Rome for visitours to be sent from Italy to visite the in the Easter parte of the worlde. Finally if the B. of Rome had bene a foriner, neuer durst he haue bene so bolde as to haue sent to *Casaria*, so farre from Rome, his legates *Lucifer* and *Eusebius*, to appease the strife that was there betwene S. Basil and *Eusebius*. By this that hath bene alleaged yowe haue hearde M. Nowel inough, and more pethappes then you would toe, to shewe that S. Cyprian, and S. Basile toke not the B. of Rome his auctoritie for forreine or vsurped. So that I maie nowe be bolde to conclude, that this first answer of yours being proued to be false, there is no let in that, but that my simple collection (as you call it) maie be taken as it is, for good and sufficient.

1 Yourre seconde answer (for the first it semeth that youre selfe mistrusted, and therefore added this as it were to vndreprop it) is of all other moste vaine and fonde. For what scripture haue you, what Doctours, what councelles, if it were granted to you, that the bishoppes of Rome haue bene of late yeares wicked men, to proue that because of their euill maners, their subiectes maie forsake them? Ourre Sauour saide of the Phariseis (although naughty

Epist. 57.

Grego. Nazanz. in
Monodia.

Euill maners of
rulers no
cause to
with draw
we obedience.

Math. 23.

naughty and wicked men) to his disciples, that no man shoulde withdrawe his obedience from them, but euery man Doe what they taught to be done, but not what they did them selues: vpon the which wordes S. Austen saith. *Illa ergo cathedra, non illorum sed Moſis, cogeſat eos bona dicere etiam non bona facientes. Agebant ergo ſua in vita ſua: docere autem ſua cathedra illos non permittebat aliena.* That chaire therfore being not theirs but Moyſes his, compelled them doing euill, to ſpeake good thinges. They did therfore in their owne life their owne deedes, but to teache their owne an other mannes chaire woulde not ſuffer them. If moyſes his chaire had this priuileage (as if yow wil beleue S. Austen it had) that they that poſſeſſed it, how vile ſo euer their lyues were, were yeat aſſured allwaies to teache no euill doctrine: what obieſt you for defence of youre running oute of the church, and forſaking the head therof, the euil life and wicked maners of the that of late yeares haue (you ſaie) ſitten in Peters chaire, for whome oure Lorde praied that his faith might neuer faile. as though oure Lorde god had only remembred the Iues and forgotten his church. But confidre I praie yow M. Nowel againſt what men yow ſpeake. Yow reaſon againſt the gouernement of the biſhoppes of Rome, whoſe ſucceſſion hath continued theſe 1300 yeares, and holde, that becauſe of the euill maners of the latter popes they are not to be obeid, as who woulde ſaie, ſo long as their life was vpright, and maners honeſt they were to be obeid: otherwiſe this exception ſhoulde be in vaine. Nowe turne that parte of the wallat that hangeth before yow, and is euer in youre eyes, behinde, and placing the other before, loke vpon youre owne biſhoppes not yeat ſettled in full 15. yeares quiet poſſeſſion. See whether they that before cried out vpon ambition, pride, couetouſnes,

De doct.
Chriſt.
l. b. 4.
Cap. 27.

Lace. 22.

C

lacke.

A DISPROVE OF M.

lacke of hospitalitie and suche like, haue not in these fewe
 yeares ouertaken the bishoppes of 900. yeares before them,
 and gone beyonde them too. What were to be looked for
 then (might yow quietly continue) after one hundred yea-
 res, that haue profited in wickednesse so muche in these
 fewe? Might not youre scholers thinke yow euen by youre
 owne lesson, bothe nowe and then giue yow ouer in the
 plaine field? But if there be no remedie but that yow
 will nedes conclude thus of the popes of this latter age
 (by which I thinke yow vnderstande as yow are wont all
 since S. Gregories time, and without anie greate streining
 of curiosy hum toe) that because of their euill maners they
 were no bishoppes at all: then giue me I praie yow leaue
 good sir, to saie as muche to yow being as yeat no bishop,
 but taking vpon yow to reprove the chiefe of al bishoppes,
 as did S. Cyprian to Pupianus iudging his rulers, no lesse
 then yow doe nowe all the latter popes *Quis est enim hic
 superbia rumor etc. VVhat swelling pride is this? VVhat ar-
 rogancie and puffing vp of minde, for the to call to thy examina-
 tion thy rulers and priestes, and except we make oure purgation
 before the, and be absolved by thy sentence, for the space of six ye-
 ars, neither had the brotherhade anie bishop, neither the people a-
 ny heade, neither the flocke anie shepherd, neither the church any
 generonour, neither Christe any bishop, nor God any priest. Is it
 not so with vs M. Nowell, not for the space of six yeares,
 but for the continual space of 900, if it were true that yow
 saye? Should not the church by this meanes haue be with-
 out any heade at all, vniuersall or particuler? Seing that all
 other bishoppes thorough out the worlde haue bene made
 bishoppes by the popes, who being them selues no bis-
 shoppes coulde not haue the auctoritie to make other.
 And then will it folowe also, that the church hauing no
 bishoppes*

Lib. 4.
 epist. 9.

Abfurd.
 sic.

bishoppes, coulde haue no priestes: if no priestes, no sacramentes rightly ministred, beside infinite absurdities mo that will folowe, if that of all other moſte foolish doctrine of yourcs were true, that naughty maners shoulde make of bishoppes no bishoppes.

Thus youre double answere made to my simple collection being confuted, it remaineth that either yow confesse the collection to be good, or seke out newe matter to impugne it. One sclaunderouse lye of yourcs there remaineth yeat to be confuted. Which allthough to the learner sorte be nedelesse, yeat for their sakes who be of the simpler, with whome youre chiefe labour taken in youre boke, is to deface me, I shall shortly answere therto in mine owne defence.

In the conclusion it is to be noted, when Basile speaketh of all the bishoppes of the East as the shepherdes stricken, M. Dorman altering the nombre, speaketh it of the Pope as the only shepherd.

Here appeareth M. Nowell youre singuler honestie, who burne with such a hatred towardes my persone, that so that somewhat you maie saye to ease youre stomacke, yow passe not, all is one to yow by what right or wrong. For I neuer alleaged these wordes as the wordes of S. Basile, but alluded only to the scriptures, where the prophete hath: *Percite pastorem & dispergentur oves*. Strike the shepherd and the sheepe shall be scattred. Yow haue therefore delt vncharitably so falsely to sclaundre me, and giuen the worlde withall to vnderstande, that youre malicious affections beare no lesse swaye in youre pen in writing, then in youre tongue in preaching.

That the historie of Nouatus is truly applied, and that I am cleere from those lyes which M. Nowell sclaunderously laith to my charge.

Nowell.
fo. 7. b. 23.

A sclaun-
derouse
lye. 6.

Zachar.
13.

The.4.Chapter.

Nowell.
Fo.7.4.3

Yow say M. Nowell, that I maie be ashamed to forge so manifest a lye, as that Nouatus exacted an othe against the Popes supremacie, or that yow folowe Nouatus in exacting the like othe as he did, and to proue this conclusion of youres, you laie for a ground, that Nouatus his othe is not onely vnlike, but cleane contrary to youre othes, that the controuersie betwixt Cornelius and Nouatus was not, whether the B. of Rome were the supreme heade as it is nowe betwene yow and vs, but whether Cornelius or he was by right the B. of Rome.

Derman.

I neuer saide that Nouatus exacted an othe against the popes supremacie. I saide, and do still, that he exacted an vnlauffull othe against Cornelius then Pope, and in that respecte the heade and gouernour of Christes church. The likenes of the othe wherein I matched yow, was, that bothe that othe which Nouatus offred, and this which yow tendre, tende to one ende, to trouble the beautifull ordre of Christes church, and to withdrawe men from the obedience of their lauffull pastour. For as lauffully is the B. of Rome in spirituall matters oure heade, as he was heade to Nouatus. So that what so euer yow saie here of the controuersie betwene Cornelius and Nouatus for the bishoprike of Rome, what so euer yow imagine of the lauffulnesse of youre othes, being as yow saye of obedience to youre naturall prince and oures, and of the iniquitie of Nouatus othe being against his lauffull bishop, all is to no purpose. For I susteine still, that let the controuersie be as yow imagine it was, yea till yow be hable to proue that the B. of Rome is to vs a forriner, and that oure obedience to him in spiritual causes ca in no wise stande with oure lauffull obedience to oure prince in temporall iurisdiction, the resemblance made betwene Nouatus and yow, will euer holde and be good. Of oure obedience towardes oure prince (whome

(whome as Gods minstre in earthe in worldly affaires we honour and reuerence) as oure doinges for the time past can beare sufficient testimonie: so shall I trust oure demeanure for the time to come be such, as shal be able to stoppe the mouthes of al such fawning parasites, as labour to make princes beleue, that these two obediēces can not stande together, as here M. Nowell doth, making that the grounde of this lye of his, that Nouatus his othe was not only vnlike but cleane contrarie to theirs.

A lye. 7.

You bring for an other difference betwene Nouatus case and youres, that his othe concerned the maintenaunce of his heresie, which aswell S. Cyprian B. of Carthage, as Cornelius B. of Rome with all other godly bishoppes condemned.

Nowell.
Fo. 6. b. 27.

What conclude yow M. Nowell herof? Doe the that proue anie difference? Naie do the not that match you together so much themore? For youre othe is it not for the maintenaunce of your heresies, which be so horrible, that aswel by al generall councelles, and all the godly learned bishoppes in the world, as by Pius the Pope thy are condemned.

Dorman.

Yow saye that as Nouatus required an othe of his folowers &c. So did the professours of the same heresies trauell in Afrike with their disciples there being Africanes, that they shoulde not returne to Cyprian B. of Carthage to communicate with him, which as it maketh nothing for any supremacie of S. Cyprian B. of Carthage, no more maketh the other for anie supremacy of Cornelius B. of Rome.

Nowell.
fol. 7. a. 7.

If yow meane that the professours of Nouatus his heresies in Afrike did exacte an othe as did Nouatus, as youre wordes, so did the professours &c. (which must nedes haue relation to that which goeth before) doe importe no lesse, or if yow meane not so, but that they traueiled to wyn men from Cyprian, as the other did from Cornelius, how so euer yow meane, yow can not proue so muche out of

Dorman.

Lib. 4.
epist. 9.

TO DISPROVE OF M.

the place that yow alleage. If yow coulde, yea woulde it make nothing for youre purpose. for I neuer alleaged the othe of Nouatus to make for the bishop of Romes supremacie, and therefore care not whether this that yow saie the folowers of Nouatus did in Africa, make for S. Cyprians supremacie or no. I alleaged the facts of Nouatus to proue that heretikes trouble the ordre of the church: that did they that yow speake of in Africa, aswell as Nouatus in Rome. If Dorman had writen thus absurdely he had dreamed, but suche egle byrdes as M. Nowell is, neuer sleepe I warraunt yow, but be allwaies waking. It foloweth:

Nowell.
fol. 72. 34.

And where Nouatus began first his heresie in Afrike by striuing against S. Cyprian, and not by striuing first against Cornelius B. of Rome (as M. Dorman vntuly reporteth) the beginning of heresies is rather to make warre and strife against the B. of Carthage, then against the B. of Rome.

Dorman.

Yow obserue well the preceptes of youre arte, to staye vpon small pointes, when to the greater yow be hable to saye nothing. But to the matter, where so euer heretikes begin: in Africa (as yow saie of Nouatus concerning his heresies vntuly, though concerning schisme trulie) or in Germanie, as did Luther, or in England as diuerse haue done: as immediatly they make warre against the whole church, so striue they specially against the heade, whose parte is to prouide for the bodie. For seing that no man is to be counted an heretike, but he that renounceth the vnitie of the church: no man dothe that, who is contented to obeye the heade thereof: it foloweth verie well, that who so euer is an heretike, whether he beginne in Africa, England, or elles where, striueth furthwith against the pope the heade of the church, which can not be saide of the bishop of Carthage, who hath no suche office in the church.

I haue

I haue done (you saie) maliciously and vntreuly calling Nouatus
yours auncethour, and yours bishoppes as his disciples, indurars
heretikes. Nowell.
b. 11.

You purge youre selfe of that which before I charged
yow not withall. For I compared yow only together in
that one point of forcing men by othes to forsake the B.
of Rome. Yeat forasmuche as you take the matter as
you doe, bragging here of youre moste earnest and pithy ser-
mons and writinges against Nouatus doctrine &c. I shall desire
the learned reader to conferre this place of S. Ambrose,
written of the Nouatians, with youre doctrine of penan-
ce: *Sed aiunt se domino deferre reuerentiam cui soli remission-*
dorum criminum potestatem referunt. But they saie that they
are reuerent towards God, to whom only they reserue po-
wer to forgive synne. Doe not you maintaine that man
hath no auctoritie to remitte sinne, and call vnto your ple-
asure for saying that God hath given the same power to
man his minstre? Be not yow the felowers of Nouatus in
this point? Dorman.

Yow saie. I beleue also that M. Dorman in the allegation off
Nouatus his othe, had a further respecte to that he maketh men-
tion of the bodie and bloude of Chryste: by the whiche becausa
Nouatus caused them to sweare. M. Dorman thought belike, the-
reby to proue, or at least to make an insinuation to the simple,
that the bodie and bloude of Chryste shoulde be corporally pre-
sent in the Sacrament. But the daily othes of blasphemous men
swearing likewise in his corporall absence doe confute that colle-
ction. Lib. 1. de
penitentia
cap. 1.
Hist. Tri-
part. lib. 8.
cap. 9.

What respecte so euer I had, this answer of yours to
this place, borrowed of Ruffians and ribauldes, not of any
that haue either learning or witte, is most farre from the
auctours meaning, whiche as anie that vieweth the place
will easely perceiue: so is it in Eusebius from whome Ni-
ce- Nowell.

A DISPROVE OF M.

cephorus toke it, moſte euident euen at the eye. For Eusebius hath, that Nouatus made them ſweare *per ea que vnusquisque tenebat in manibus*, by thoſe thinges which euery one of them helde in his handes: but they ſware by the bodye and bloud of Chriſte ſaieth Nicephorus: ergo, they had the bodye and bloud of Chriſte in their handes. Well although you doubted whether youre ſtamping, ſtaring and ſwearing alehouſe ſolution, ſhoulde finde with all men ſuche credite that they woulde by and by beleue yow: yeat of this you doubted nothing, to make ſome men at the leaſt beleue, that the doctrine of tranſſubſtantiation were by this place quite ouerthrowen, and withall to ſet furth youre ſelues to the worlde as the verie folowers of the primitiue church, in deliuering the ſacrament into the receiuers handes. But this ioy (if you conceiued anie hereof) you are like to enioy but a while M. Nowell. For both Eusebius and Nicephorus calling here the ſacrament by the name of bread, are to be vnderſtand to haue folowed therein, the phraſe of ſcripture, which either ſo calleth it (as did S. Paule) becauſe a littell before it ſo was, as Moiſes rod being turned in to a ſerpent was in ſcripture called notwithstanding a rod, and ſaide by the name of a rodde to haue deuoured the roddeſ of the enchauntors, which were alſo ſerpentes, or as oure ſauoure him ſelfe did, not meaning by this worde bread, the ſubſtance of materiall bread, but the true bread of life.

Whereas you ſaye oute off Nicephorus, that they taſted that which they receiued, and expound it thus, that is to ſaye bread, that is youre owne blinde gloſe, and is not in the text. If you woulde nedes playe the expoſitour yow ſhould haue referred that taſting of theirs to the bodye and bloude of Chriſt, which he made them ſweare by, and which went

next

Lib. 6.
cap. 34.

Fol. 8, a. 4.

1. Cor. 11.

Exod. 7.

Iohn. 6.

Fol. 8, b, 5.

next in the sentence before. So shoulde yow haue done the
part of a true interpretour and haue made Nicephorus agree
with the auncient fathers of Christes church, and namelic
to omitt Tertullian, Chrysostome, and diuerse other, with
Cirillus the B. of Alexandria, who saith of this matter: *quo-
modo non viuemus qui carnem illam & gustamus & manduca-
mus?* How can it be that we shoulde not liue who doe both taste
and eate that fleshe? But what speake I of making him
to agree with other, when by this meanes you shoulde haue
made him to agree with him selfe? who in other places for
that which he calleth here simply bread, ioining thereunto
an epithet calleth it *uisalis panis*, liuely bread. And (whereas
yow would haue him to saye, that in this place the com-
municantes held breade in their handes and tasted breade) in
rehearsing the oration which S. Ambrose made to Theo-
dosius the emperour minding to entre in to the church of
Milan, bringeth in S. Ambrose amongst other thinges
speaking after this sorte. *Quomodo manus extolles quae cado
iniqua disfluunt? Quomodo in eis dicitur etiam corpus accipies?
Quomodo sanguine pretiosum ut as afferis per quod ira mani-
festetur si autem tantum effudisti sanguinem?* that is. How wilt thou
lift vp thy handes which flow with wicked murdres? yea
How wilt thou receiue in them the diuine body? How wilt
thou bring to thy mouthe the pretious blood, by the
which being caried away with angre, thou hast spilt so
much blood.

I made no lye, neither yett dissembled the truthe or clo-
ked the matter, (as yow charge me vntuly) by calling this
heauenly and liuely bread, the blessed sacrament of the altar,
with the which worde if yow be offended yow maye chal-
lenge S. Austen, for his worde it is and not mine. It is yow
M. Nowell that haue muche daungered youre honoure by

D

falsifying

Lib. 4. in
Ioh. 6. 14

Lib. 1. cap.
30.

Lib. 12.
cap. 41.

B. 15.
S. Austen
calleth
the sacra-
ment of
Christes
bodie and
blonde
the sacra-
ment of
the altar

A DISPROVE OF M.

Lib. 10. de
Cinit dei
cap. 6.

The pla-
ce of Ni-
cephorus
falsified

Consecratio

Lib. 20.
cap. 13.

Ad Iannar
epist. 118.

falsifieng this place of Nicephorus. For where he hath, *Cum oblationes offerret qui mos sacerdotibus est* when he offered the oblations as the manner of priestes is: yow adde to the text, this worde, his: and saye, when he made his oblations. Which worde of yowes so conueighed in, is such a spiteful worde, as destroyeth the whole minde of the auctor. For whereas we defende the consecration of Christes bodye and bloude (of which name yow are ashamed as appeareth by yowre, as they terme it, although S. Austen so affirmed the same against *Manicheus* the heretike, that he saith plainly, if the bread and chalice be not consecrate, *it is food for refectiō but not a sacrament of religion*.) whereas we I saye defende such consecration to be an oblation and sacrifice, when yow sawe the wordes of *Nicephorus* to meane the publike oblations of the whole church, which are the bodye and bloude of Christe, yow thought that lense to be litle for yowre aduantage, and therefore it semed good counsell, to shift in the worde (his) to the intent it might be thought, that *Neuerus* had offred somewhat of his owne private deuotion. Let the worlde now iudge M. Nowell, whether this be true dealing or no.

As for yowre bragging how yow folow the vse of the primitive church, by giuing the sacrament into their handes who receiue it: I aske yow this question, grounding the same vpon S. Austen, why yow wrangle more aboute the giuing the sacrament in to the receiuers handes, because they so toke it in the primitive church, then yowe doe about the receiuing it fasting, which Christ and his apostles did not? If that be altered which Christ and his apostles did, for the more honour of this greate sacrament: why might not (for the same reason or for some other as greate or greater) the other manner of receiuing it into the

the handes be abolished also and taken away; and yow counted schismatikes for breaking the peace of the church? Why cause yow not yong babes to communicate againe as once they did in the primitiue church; and then make youre bragges thereof to, that yow kepe the vface of the primitiue church?

Now that yow haue discoursed learnedly as yow thinke vpon the place of Nicephorus; with charging me off mingling impertinent thinges by the waye &c. Whereas he that hath but halfe an eye maye see, that without I would haue cut of halfe the sentence I could doe no otherwise then I did. Which if I had, yow woulde not belike neither haue taken in verie good parte, feing that euen for that which as not pertaine to the matter I omitted, yow reprehende me, caulling that I haue passed ouer in silence that which is against me.

Yow returne (yow saie) to the purpose againe, and to discredit me for euer, yow couche together a nombre of euident lies which yow affirme, no lesse then in one halfe leafe fitte on a clustre, to haue bene made by me.

Well feing then nowe we be come to that point, let vs two counte together that by euen reconding we maye continue long friendes, and see who is in others debt. Nowe saie on M. Nowell, which is the first of these five lies?

The first lie is, that after his discourse out of S. Cyprian of the bishop appointed by God to be the gouernour and heade of the church, he saith the B. of Rome is that heade; whereas by S. Cyprian the contrarie is euident: and that him selfe, or B. Rogatian is that heade whereof he speaketh.

They are two thinges to saie, that the B. of Rome is the heade appointed by God to gouerne the church, and that in the places alleaged out of S. Cyprian for an other purpose, S. Cyprian ment so, I saide I graunte that the B.

For. 9. a. 3.

Nowell

Nowell.
a. 17.

Dorman.

Nowell.

Dorman.

A DISPROVE OF M.

of Rome is the heade appointed by god to gouerne the church: proue yow the contrarye then saye I haue lied. That S. Cyprian in the places by me alleaged was of that minde, that saide I neuer: as by the place whither I referre my selfe I offer to be tried. So that of this I am cleered, and the lye returneth to yow for belying me, not alone but accompanied with an other in that yow saie, that by S. Cyprian the contrarie is euident, that is to saie, that the B. of Rome is not heade of the church, and so is this on youre parte a pregnant lye.

A double
lye. 8. 9.

The seconde is, that to make warre against the B. of Rome, is the first entrie in to heresie. Whereas S. Cyprian teacheth that the contempt of euery godly Bishop in his owne diocesse by suche as are their inferiours is the beginning of heresies.

Nowell.
2. 24.

If yow meane that directly I vsed as for a proufe S. Cyprian, to proue that to make warre against the B. of Rome is the first entrie to heresie, that I denie: and so yow belye me therein. If yow meane that because I concluded so much by the waye of introduction that therefore I lyed, then yow haue made youre selfe a lye that waies. For the argument holdeth and is verie good: *The beginning and entrie into heresies is to rebell against the heade. ergo a fortiori, to rebell against the chiefe heade of all other, by S. Cyprian must needs be the beginning of schismes and heresies.* And so this standeth for an other lye.

Alye. 10.

The 3. lye that yow laye to me is, because I saie that Nouatus made his first entrie in to his heresies by making open warre against the B. of Rome &c. Which yow call a double lye, because first Nouatus began his heresies by youre opinion in Africke: next, because I saie that Nouatus made warre against Cornelius as the gouernour and heade of the church. For yow saye my wordes, Thus did Noua-

tus

tus, must nedes be referred to that which went before.

To the first parte of this forcked lye I answered before, in prouing that wherefoeuer heretikes begin, they assault the heade of the church; and therefore to saye the contrary because Nouatus shoulde begin his heresies first in Afrike is a lye on youre behalfe. As is also the seconde parte, when yow charge me to haue saide that Nouatus striued against the pope as heade of the church, thinking to proue the same by referring my wordes, *Thus did Nouatus*, to those that went before: which if yow doe, yow shall proue therby naughtelles, but that he made warre against the beautifull ordre of the church, and the bishop of Rome by god appointed to be the heade thereof. For those are the wordes that go before. And so haue yow made here two lyes.

* Not all one, to striue against the heade of the church, and to striue against him as heade of the church. two Lies. 11. 12.

The fourth lye that yow burden me withall, is a very sclanderous and moste peuissh lye, without al reason wrested and wrong by force out of my wordes to make vp a nombre. As first that I saye the receiuing of the blessed sacrament of the altar in stede of the distribution of the bread, that you count one lye, because Nicephorus you saye hath no suche wordes. Nicephorus hath not I confesse the same wordes, nor I euer saied he had, nor promised to alleage the verie same, but was contented to vse a worde signifieng almoche and better knowen to all men then the other, and therefore as long as I kept the sense of the auctor as you can not denie but I did, I lyed not. Ergo, yow lyed. The other surmised lye is, because I saye, they that minded to receiue it etc. And why is this a lye M. Nowell? Yow answered: because they had receiued it already in to their handes. Yea but I tell you againe M. Nowell that they came not thither as muche as yow triumph of receiuing in to their

b. 25. 26.

handes, to receiue it onely in to their handes, but especially to receiue it into their bodies: and therefore yow should to proue me herein a lier haue concluded, that they coude not be said minded to receiue, as they who had receiued already bothe into their handes and bodies. And of this principall receiuing seing yow coude not be ignorant that I ment, yow haue not onely proued youre selfe a lier, but declared also to the worlde that yow conforme not youre selfe in writing to that spirit that becommeth a diuine, but to such wrangling and quarelling where no cause is, as verie common skoldes would be alhamed to vse.

M. Nowell.
well and
wrangler.

Nowell.
fol. 10. a. 1.

Thes. lye is, that I affirme, (you saye) that yow sweare men in suche sorte as Nouatus did. And here yow repeate againe, that the othe exacted by Nouatus was vnlaufull, because he exacted an othe of the Romaines to cleaue to him against their owne bishop: you require an othe of subiectes English men, of obedience to their owne natural prince, and of renouncing all foraine and vsurped power. Again, Nouatus caused the to sweare that his heresie was the truth, and that Cornelius true doctrine was heresie: yow haue no suche matters in hande but are on Cornelius side against Nouatus &c. Vpon these two differences yow conclude, that Ioke how often I saie, so, did Luther, so did Caluin, so doe these wicked men in oure country: &c as ofte as I saie, They exacted this othe &c. If he giue not this othe &c. so many lowde and lewde lyes I haue made.

Dorman.

Vntill yow be hable to proue M. Nowell, that the B. of Rome is not oure laufull bishop that be English men, that his power is foraine and vsurped, euen in this pointe shall yow agree with Nouatus, that you sweare men against their laufull bishop as he did. Yow maye not thinke youre selfe sufficiently discharged because yow saie his power is vsurped, for that colour Nouatus also I warrat yow gaue to his wicked doinges. As for the heresie of Nouatus although youre othe tende not specially to the maintenaunce of that,

yea

yeat maketh it directly for the maintenaunce of diuerse o-
ther more abhominable. But yow contrarie to all good le-
arning, as though yow wrote only to deceiue the simple
not passing for the iudgement of the learned, thinke youre
selues marueilously well discharged, if the comparison ma-
de betwene yow, and Nouatus agree not iustly in euery
small point. Thus you see for 5. lyes which in these fewe li-
nes yow sclaundre me to haue made, whereas I haue nowe
cleered my selfe of them al five, in foloweth that as often as
yow saie that I lye, so often times, that is to saye five., yow
haue lied youre selfe, and thise more beside, as in the count
betwene vs it appeareth. So that nowe that I haue answer-
ed you for suche matter as from the beginning yow
coude charge me withall, yow must not thinke me to dea-
le hardely with yow if I call yow also to account of suche
manifest and inexcusable lyes, as hetherto in these fewe
leaves of yours yow haue made. Wherein I shall desire the
(gentle reader) to shewe thy selfe a good and ypright audi-
tor betwene vs.

First yow saie M. Nowell, that the sentence of S. Au-
sten prefixed by me before my booke, maketh directly
against the papistes, as yow terme vs. That is an euident lie
as hath bene declared.

Item that you promised to leaue no saying of anie olde
doctour vnaniswered, alleaged by me. Which seing you ha-
ue not perfourmed in that which being brought out off
S. Austen was of all other the first, but haue passed over in
silence these wordes. *Thou dost not communicate with all
nations*, wherein the force of the place consisted, this is the
seconde lye.

Item that Cyprian declareth in deede in the 9. epistle of
the fourth boke, that the bishoppes of all places be of equall

In the be-
ginning
of his
boke.

fol. 2. b. 28

au-

authoritie, it is an other lye grounded fallely vpon S. Cyprian.

fol. 5. b. 22.

Item, that I falsified S. Basile his wordes (of the which I made no mention) it is a scandaledge lye.

fol. 7. a. 24.
Li. 2. c. 8.

Item, that Nouatus began his heresie first in Afrike, it is a lye falselie fathered vpon S. Cyprian; who mencioneth his schisme, not his heresy, which all writers agree that he fell first into at Rome, vpon displeasure conceiued of the repulse that he suffered in standing for the bishopricke of Rome.

Lib. 4.
Epist. 9.

fol. 7. a. 7.

Item, that the professors of Nouatus heresies traualled in Afrike against S. Cyprian as Nouatus him selfe did in Italie against Cornelius the B. of Rome, it is affirmed by yow M. Nowell to be proued by S. Cyprian; but the place hauing bene examined hath no such thing.

fol. 8. a. 17.

Item, whereas Nicephorus hath: Cum oblationes offerret when he offered the oblations, you cast in this worde me, and so calle Nicephorus.

ed. ad. al.
p. 10.
ad. 10.
p. 10.

fol. 10. a.
13.

The grosse and total some of al your lyes hitherto made, beside those, which because hauing already declared that Nouatus and you agree in swearing men against the bishop of Rome, I am clerred of, how often so euer I saye: so did Luther: so did Caluine: so do these wicked men in our countrey, as ofte as I saye, They exalted this lye, &c. If they give not this othe, &c. must needs also retorne to you) meth to it, lyes, and with that capitaine lye, of al other which hitherto you haue made, as well for the place which was publike, as the audience which was honourable (in saying that you had not founde any one authoritie by me, so farre as then yow had reade, truly alleaged) the verie greatest of all, to fixt one. Nowe kepe yow the counte and let vs procede.

a. 22.
At Pauls
crosse.

You finde faulte with vaine coating of the places alleaged

ged, which although to all writers it be a thing that commonly happeneth, and to none so common* as to those of youre occupation: yea in me so malicious a man I am, it must nedes be of sett purpose that suche as woulde be desirous to see the originalls might not so speedely finde oute the lewdenesse of my allegations, serving nothing to the purpose, vnlesse perhappes (yow saie) I did neuer vse mine owne eyes in vewing of those places.

*
I referre
me to your
Apologie.

Nowel
16.

Well M. Nowell I praye you yea stande good maister vnto me, or at the least fauour your selfe. For I thinke for a nie greate faultes that be yea committed, yow are ronne as far into the lashe as I, although in the space of one leafe or little more, yow saye that of fower onely places alleaged, thre thereof be neted vntuly. For touching the first, whiche yea you noted before with the other two in the margent, but here rhetorically for lacke of store, yow serue to the table againe dressed after an other sorte (a point of cookery much vsed by yow in this booke of youre) yea i wysse two of them maye so be excused, that youre cancred suspition shall take no place. For whereas I alleaged the first sentence of S. Cyprian as out of the thirde booke the ii. epistle, whereas it is the 9. epistle, the copie is extant to be sene printed first by Griphius at Lyons *Anno Domini. 1537*. then at Basile, *anno 1540*, wherein bothe the places by the printers error it is so printed as I alleaged it. The second error in printing the 30. chapitre of Nicephorus for the thirde, was committed by this meanes. I wrote in my copie, cap. 30. as yow see here. The compeler of the letters vnacquainted with this kinde of writing, mistaking the o aboute for a figure that should stande beneath placed it so, and made of thre, thirty.

Dorman.

b. 4.

I would haue bene loth to haue troubled the (good reader) with so manie wordes in the excuse of so sclendrel

2000000

E faultes

A DISPROVVE OF M.

faultes, were it not that mine aduersarie chargeth me to heinously therewithall as he doth, and that I perceiue them to be the greatest that he coule finde in my boke. The third escape was also the printers faulte, although I be not able to proue it so well, and yeat as well to, as he shall be to proue the contrarie. For the which he neded not to take the matter so whot, him selfe hauing alleaged, before an epistle of S. Cyprian, where is no suche thing to be founde as for the whiche he bringeth it in.

Fol. 7. d. 11.
Hb. 4. epif.
9.

Fol. 10. b. 2
A lye excused by
perhappes

A lye. 17.

In the. 4.
chapitre.
Fol. 12. a.

Nowell.
B. 13.

Dorman.
A lye. 18.

Where yow obiect to me I wote not what collectours, whome I shoulde trust in these places: Suerly vnlesse yow had saide perhappes, which helpeth the matter, yow must nedes haue scored vp an other lye there had bene no remedy. But as good then as now, for it foloweth euen there, where yow saye that yow moste abhorre Nouatus and his heresies. For I noted yow an other point before beside the swearing against the B. of Rome, wherein yow were plaine Nouatians, and therefore that is a bragging lye.

Yow saye that this othe which I talke of, was neuer required of suche of the Cleargie as be in prison.

The othe that I talke of is of forsaking the B. of Rome. Will yow stande to this lye, that this othe was neuer required of suche of the cleargie as be in prison? Diuerse of them, euen of the best, haue died therefore constant martyrs in prison yow can not truly denie it: If some of them that remaine, pine nor (as you saye) but fare wel and of other menues cost, to the greater cause haue they to thanke god and their friendes therefore, emongest whome perhappes although you be at no greate parte of the cost, yeat you maye in this respect deserue also some thankes, that remembring them oftentimes in youre charitable deuotion at Powles crosse, yow procure them by suche hartie remembrance,

brance, the rather the almoise of good men. If all pyne not away: if some be well fedde and in good liking, and so fatte (as you saye) that they wallow to: as they haue the more to render thanks to almighty god who giueth suche abilitie so well to beare aduersitie: yea are there other some, and no small some to, whose holow eyes, pale faces, and heauy lookes, beare witnesse sufficient of an other maner of pasture then oure smothe smicker ministres liue in.

You are able to name no greate nombre hanged in stockes by legges, or fingers, as some of them (you saie) that be in prison vsed others &c. and those that were so serued (if anie so were) if the matter were wel known, it was their vnruely and vnbridled tongues, their vnseemly language towards their superiours, (from which kinde of behauiour let these six yeares passed ouer in durance beare witnesse for the Catholikes how far they be) and not religion, for which they were so ordered. This mildenesse of the Catholikes onely defending the catholike faith and libertie of their consciences, without either bitter talcke, seditious bookes, or other by practises against their prince and magistrates by her appointed, was the cause I nothing doubt, why her highnesse naturally enclined to mercy, extendid the rather her gracious fauour to the enlarging of their prisonnes, which yow by a scornfull terme to shewe how fore it was against youre will, call progresses. Besides that, there is at all no comparison betwene men forsaking the common known faith as youre selues confesse of these last nine hundred yeares through out all the worlde, and suche as departing from the rest of Christendome, ioine them selues to a faith whereof there was not one man to be founde in all the whole worlde fifty yeares ago. Which consideration (in a maner I assure my selfe) hath not

Fol. 10. b.
23.

A DISPROVE OF M.

bene the least respect, why the Quenes grace hath allwaies so mercifully regarded those pore prisoners, and withall so graciously withstanden youre cruell motions tending to their dispatche oute of the waye: whome she thinketh to haue punishment inough of prison, losse of liuinges, and libertie, though she take not from them their liues: who teaching and defending that faithe which they were borne and baptised in, which they manie yeares continued in, which all the world within these fifty yeares beleued, can not so sone be brought from the same.

Fol. 11. a. 1.

I looked euer when yow would answere to that where with I charged you, for offering the othe against the pope to gentle men, laye men, and scholers of the vniuersities without all face or colour of lawe, but youre owne conscience tolde you that you had therein done suche iniurie to her graces lawes, so extended and racked them to serue youre furiose spirit, that it shoulde be best as you doe, to passe that ouer in silence, and not so muche as once to twang vpon that string of youre harpe. If there were any punished for not swearing to the pope in times past, they were punished by ordre of lawe: why mention you that to excuse youre vexing of men beside lawe?

Nowell,
b. 1.

Fol. 11. b.

Yow take on like a mad man and aske of me: seing that so many as well learned as vnlearned: as well of the laitie as of the clergie, women as men, yong as olde haue lost liuinges and gooddes, and after long punishments and pyning most painefull and pitefull also, haue finally lost their liues being most cruelly consumed by terrible flames of fier into ashes, if they might obtaine so much mercy as to escape that vsual log lingring in slack and smoke fier: why I shoulde thinke it muche, that they who haue in this wise vsed others for refusing of moste wicked othes, and the auctoritie of a false forain vsurper shoulde them selues lacke some part of their liuinges and libertie, for refusing to acknowledge the lausfull auctoritie of oure naturall souereigne.

*VVhat shoulde
the person
nes M.
Nowell
retaine any
parte of
their li-
uinges?

Here

Here before I answered to youre question I would
faine know what they were either learned or ynlarned of
the laitie, what wome, what yong men, to whom this othe
was offered, and how many died for the refusal therof. Tru-
ly the greatest nombre that suffred in England died for the
sacramentarie heresy, not in such lingring flames as yow
speake of, but compassed about with bagges of gonne pou-
der procured by their owne meanes (a kinde of practise e-
mongest Christes Martyrs neuer I row harde of) the foo-
ner to dispatche them selues, as with mine own eyes I sawe
Ridley and Latymer burned. But if it had bene true that
so manie had died for refusall of this othe as yow suppose,
yeat were they not, for answer to youre demaunde I saye,
laye gentlemen, nor scholers that vsed them so. And there-
fore no reason is it why you shoulde wreake your selues
vpō them. And this yow wote is the question that is dema-
unded of you. Againe how euer you name the othe wic-
ked, yeat is it lausfull and nothing derogating the Quenes
auctoritie, which we couer almuche to mainteine as you,
although we flatter not so muche, but yours is wicked
and moste abhominable, and therefore it is no good com-
parison that you make betwene vs. Finallic how euer it be,
the othe was then tendred there as it was offered, accor-
ding to the law, you offered it to those that I spake of, inu-
sionously without auctoritie of speciall commulsion.

As for youre promise that yow make in place conne-
ment to bring good proufe that the B. of Rome hath wickedly
exacte most ynlawfull othes both of subiectes and of princes, &c.
when you doe so yow shall heare what I will answer: in
the meane season I count it but an ordinary brag.

Of the place of S. Basile epist. 70. that it was tru-
lye applied to the heretikes of ou-
re time &c.

Dorman.

This a-
greeth not
with the
martyrdo-
me of Po-
licarpus.
Vide Ense.
li. 4. cap. 15

fol. 19. b.

A DISPROVE OF M.

The.5.Chapter.

M.Nowell woulde induce the reader to thinke, that this place of S. Basile shoulde be brought by me to perswade that he and his companions were Arrians . And therefore purging him self and his mates of this crime, he concludeth thus.

Nowell.
fol.12.b.18

Wherfore his sainges in that Epistle apperteine nothing to vs, who are nothing guiltie of those crimes and heresies, but they are brought in by dreaming M. Dorman without anie cause and beside all purpose.

Dorman.

What nede this affected ignorance M. Nowell? Yow knowe well inough that I neuer charged you with the Arrian heresie. But thus it pleaseth yow to handle me, as though yow might by this meanes bringe me in to an euill conceite with the reader, by perswading that I alleage no place to the purpose. The Arrians yow wote well (for it is a thing incident to heresies) had beside their errors in doctrine manie foule deformities in maners . Now what a newe kinde of reason is this I praie yow that yow vse: I am not like Darius or Syrus in one or two properties that they haue: Ergo in no propertie at all. Doe you agree with the Arrians in no pointe of their maners, because yow beleue (you saye) well concerning the doctrine of the Trinitie? If you beleue well, God continue you therein, at the least some of your pewe felowes pretending once as good affection therto as you do now, haue come so farre, that they not onely haue blasphemed fit in open sermons, but protested also to be readier to returne to their Cloisters, then to beleue thereof as the catholike church dothe. But let that be their faulte, I saye not here that you be yeat come so farre, which notwithstanding, youre conclusion

See Staphy-
lus in En-
glish.
fol.113.a.

sion that you infer (wherefore his sainges in that epistle appertaigne nothing to vs) is false. For you ouerthrowe churches, you pull downe altars, you contemne the traditions of the fathers (the diligent obseruation whereof S. Basile saith in this place was condemned by the Arrians as a greate fault) beside other thinges, as maie to them that reade the histories more plainly appeare. So that when you called me dreaming for bringing this as not to the purpose, you were belike youre selfe nodding.

b. 18.

Yow aske: why these bishoppes of the Easte (whose epistle I alleaged here) wrote not to the pope, as head of all the church, but indifferently to all the bishoppes of Fraunce and Italy, without any mention of the B. of Rome at all, whereoff yow gather a folishe fonde coniecture, and of that, that S. Basile placed the bishoppes off Fraunce before the Italian bishoppes, which I, (you saie) craftely dissembled, that the B. of Rome shoulde not be head of the churche.

Nowell.
b. 25.

Trulye M. Nowell I neuer brought it to proue the bishop of Romes supremacie: I brought it to proue, that the face of oure time was not muche vnlike to that of the Arrians, and to that it is not impertinent. For youre demaunde I aske you againe, what if he wrote to the pope speciall lettres for his aide in these difficultyes? And if he did, how that should not make greatly for his supremacie, to whom he woulde not write as to a common bishop amongst other, but seuerally to him selfe alone, as being the head of his other brethern. Trulye there is an epistle of his not many before this, written by him to Athanasius, wherein conferring with him about the withstanding of the Arrians heresie, he telleth him, that his counsell is, that they sende lettres to the B. of Rome, *that he may confidre the matter and giue his sentence, that bicause it woulde be verye harde to haue*
first

Epist. 52.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

first a common councell called, and then so to sende from thence, he him selfe chosing mete men for the purpose, suche as shoulde aswell be hable to beare out the paines of the iourney, as for their gentlenes and sinceritie off manners to warne and reprove suche peruerse men as troubled them, should giue auctoritie to the matter, &c.

Epist. 57.

Why might not this epistle M. Nowell; be touching the same matter whereof he wrote to the bishoppes of Fraunce and Italie? why might it not be that knowing the honour of that see of Rome to be so greate as it is, he woulde by no meanes wright vnto the bishop thereof alone, but ioyntly together with bishop Athanasius; whose fame he knewe to be in the church such, that he could aske no reasonable petition which should not be graunted: or what can you saye why the epistle written to Meletius, that they two shoulde sende to Rome for visitours to visite their countrie which was in the Easte, might not be concerning this matter? How euer it be, these two places argue, that the omitting of the B. of Rome his name here, was not as you suppose, for contempte of his auctoritie. And thus is this fonde conjecture of yours showed to be vaine and of no force. Now for dissembling (as you saie) the ordre of the bishoppes named in the epistle, truly you shewe your selfe to be made euen of the paringes of malice, who iudge so maliciously where no cause is. For to what purpose shoulde I conceale that, which no man coulde suspect, that any would euer haue bene so foolish as to haue brought for an argument against the popes supremacy?

Nowell.
fol. 13. a. 3.

It foloweth: S. Basile with the other bishoppes of the Easte, called the bishoppes alltogether brethern and felowes in the ministerie, which they would neuer haue done, had they had this opinion of his supremacy, that M. Dorman and other papistes do now

we

we defende and maintaine. But in the saide 70. epistle the saide
bishops of the East, which do not once speake of the pope, do pray
the Frenche and Italian bishoppes to make humble sute to the
Emperoure, that he by his auctoritie woulde repress their enne-
mies the Arrians, and relieue their miseries, which maketh ra-
ther for the Emperours supremacy in the church then for the
bishoppes of Rome.

I tolde you a litle before of S. Basile his counsell to
Athanafius, to sende to the bishop of Rome for helpe a-
gainst the Arrians. Wherby as it appeareth to be more then
probable, that these latter lettres were written to the other
bishoppes of Italie and fraunce only, not to the pope: so is
it euident also, that the mention of the emperour and si-
lence of the pope, came not of lacke of acknowledging his
auctoritie, (to the which before they fledde) but of this, by
ioyning bothe the swordes together, the spirituall and the
temporall, the rather to vanquish and discomfite the ene-
mie. But nowe if it were so that emongest the rest the bi-
shop of Rome had bene comprehended in this epistle, yea
the calling of him brother or felowe in the ministerie, is no
cause to conclude (as you doe) against his auctoritie. For
neither doe I nowe, nor euer hatte anie Catholike hether-
to, so defended or mainteined the popes supremacy that it
hathe not bene allwaies acknowledged, that bothe he and
other bishoppes be the ministres of one common maister,
although that maister haue made him the ruler of his fe-
lowes and ouerseer of his brethren. Yea the popes them-
selues haue euer vsed to call the other bishoppes their bro-
thers and fellowe bishoppes, not renouncing therby the aucto-
ritie of their seate. What maruail is it therefore, if the bi-
shoppes of the East had called the pope (emongest the
other to whome they wrote) brother and felowe in the mi-
nisterie, by the which name he calleth him selfe, it can not
be de-

Dorman.

Epist. 12.

be denied. *But in the same manner. But in the same manner. But in the same manner.*

Nowell.
Fo. 13. a. 13

Nowe where M. Dorman speaketh of persecution, as he dyd a little before of oure moste cruell practise, I referre it to the iudgement of all the worlde, whether the papistes or we be more cruell persecutours: and wheather haue suffred more persecution they or we.

Dorman.

ib. 13. a. 13

1 ib. de
vini. eccl.
cap. 17.

Epist. 48.

If they be more cruell persecutours that lacking power shewen or withstande more crueltie in wordes then other doe in deedes: if their crueltie be greater who punish beside and against lawe, then theirs who folowe lawe: if it be no crueltie at all, to punish a fewe to save the nombre, by *terror of lighter paines* (to vse the wordes of S. Austen to the Donatistes complaining of the Catholikes as you doe nowe) to preserve from greater evils, then is the matter iudged already in all vpright iudgement, then needeth there no furer proccesse. As for the lenitie by the which you would commend your selues to the worlde, youre charitable sermones made abwell before the Quenes moste excellent maiestie at the courte, as before the nobles and other honorable of the Realme at the Crosse: in the which yow haue consumed all youre eloquence, to prouoke oure moste gracious soueraigne to imbrue her chaste and vnspotted handes with the innocent bloude of true Catholikes: she hath long since made that wel knowne to the worlde, So that I maye nowe truly saye to yow, as did S. Austen to certeine heretikes in his time, bragging of their lenitie towards the catholikes, as you doe of youre. *Nulla bestia si nemi non nocet, propterea mansueta dicitur, quia denies & vngues non habet. Si uis uos nolle dicitis, ego non posse arbitror.* No beast if he wounde no man, is therefore called tame, because he lacketh teethe and nailes: you saye you will vse no crueltie: I thinke yow can not. Is not this youre verie case

-obed-

1

M. No-

Mr Nowell? See you not a perfect pattern, of your pittie, a copy of youre dissembled and countrefeited kindenesse? O were youre murdering mouthes by oure most gracious Souereignes commaundement vnmooſed, (which god for her sake forbid) youre bloud thirsty handes at libertie: how woulde theſe tame beaſtes beſturre themſelves?

You ſaye that I go about to burthen you with enuie of churches either pulled downe or altered to other vſes, and of altars deſtroied, muche like as the rebelles did burthen king Henry the eight &c.

Nowell.
a. 12.

How the rebelles burdened king Henry, for whether they burdened him at all or no as you ſaye they did, I will not entremede my ſelfe therein. Of this I am ſure that you be burdened of me none otherwiſe, then S. Hierome burdened the Hunnes and wandalles being infected with Arrius hereſie, when he wrote of them after this ſort: *The churches be ouerthrowen, at the altars be horſes ſtabled, and a litle after. How manye monaſteries be their taken?*

Dorman.

Epist. ad
Heliodorū.

And againe, none otherwiſe then Optatus the biſhop of Mileuite in Afrike burdened the Donatiſtes there doing the like: when he tolde them that there coulde be no greater ſacrilege then to breake, ſhawe and remove cleane away the altars off God, on the which bothe they them ſelves ſome tymes had offred, and the prayers off the people and members off Chriſt were caried. As for youre excuſe that you make, why Abbayes were ouerthrowen in oure countrie, it is not trulie muche pertinent to oure purpoſe in this place. For had it bene all true, whereof the greateſt parte was moſte certeinly falſe, that you ſclaunderouſly and falſely laied to the charges of religiouse men (amongſt whome as there were manie offendours, even thoſe that haue bene ſince in England greate pullers, and in youre newe

Lib. 6. c. 6.
tra Dona-
tiſt.

Donatus
ab. d. 348.
ſuprad
ſuprad
ſuprad
ſuprad

churche chiefe fauourers of youre newe religion: so were there manie innocent and good, who ceased not daie and night to lament the disordred life of those other their brethren, to praie most earnestly to almighty god for their finnes and the finnes of the people / yeat was this no cause sufficient to turne vp the churches, to ouerthrowe the altars. Which you youre selfe also perceiuing, and knowing that, aswell in king Henries time, those good fathers of the Chartrehouse, as in the late reigne of Quene Marie, bothe they in Shene, the mōckes of westminstre, the Franciscanes of Grenewich, the preachers of S. Bartilmewes, the nonnes of Sion and Dertford, liued euery ordre so honestlie in all vertue and godlines according to their rule, that manie wer edified by their good examples, none offedid by their euil: you flee to an other shifte, against the foundations off suche religious houses forsothe.

Nowell.
fol. 13. a.
33.

Which because (you say) were laied vpo prayer for the redemption of the soules of their founders and their progenitours soules. &c. Were so vnstuer and weake or rather wicked, that they coulde no longre beare suche huge superstruitions and buildinges as were laied vpon them.

Dorman.

Aug. lib. de
barefib.
bar. 53.
lib. 3. bare.
75.

Well, suche foundations maye be well counted weake or rather wicked by wicked Aerius who was condēned for the like heresie as witnesse bothe S. Austen and Ephiphanius aboue 12. hundred yeares since. But to all good Christian men they seme and euer haue done proufitable and meritorious, as to him that will take the paines to reade the boke of late learnedly written of purgatorie, it shall I doubt not euidently appeare. Beside that, by this meanes our colleagues at home in the vniuersities, yea your cathedrall churche and Deanery it selfe M. Nowell, might be in some daunger to be ouerthrowen, if you fal to suche scanning of
their

their first fundations.

Here you compell me to entre with you into a disputation about altars. And for the iustifieng of your communion table, you alleage first that oure sauiour instituted the sacrament at a table &c. And that S Paule calleth it *mensam dominicam* oure Lordes table.

To the facte of Christ maye be answered two wayes. First, that we confidre not in this word (*altar*) so muche the matter whereof it is made, as we doe the thing which is executed vpon it. For it is not stone that maketh it to be called an altar: no more then wood, siluer or golde, but it is the sacrifice done vpon it which maketh it so to be called. So that when Christ our sauiour instituted this sacrifice or oblation of the newe testament (as namely the auncient father Irineus calleth it) although (as yow saye) men had in those daies in their houses no altars in stede of tables, yeat was this table made an altar by Christes offering him selfe thereapō. Again if you will yeat reason that because it was a table of wood or a wooden altar, therefore we must change the ordre off Christes churche, and downe with oure stone altars and set vp tables of wood: then must I answere you, that this was one of the thinges, which oure sauiour determind nothing of, but leste to the discretion of his Apostles by whom he would dispose the busines of the church, and that by the same very mene that you wolud haue altars pulled downe, you may also ouerthrow churches. For except you think M. Nowel (to vse your own reason made here against altars) that mē vsed to dwelle in those daies in churches in stede of priuate housen, you wil graunte I dare saye that Christ instituted this sacramēt in a priuate house, and so by that reason of youres down with the churches, and let your cōmunion be ministred in parlors of

Fol. 14. b.
Altars.
Nowell.
1. Cor. 10.

Dorman.

Li. 4. c. 32

August.
epist. 118.

b. 13.
A reason
of M. Nowel
to ouerthrow
we churches.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

priuate houses.

Nowell.
b. 20.

Neither I, nor al the papistes with me (yow say) cā bring so muche out of the newe testament for altars as you haue done for the Lordes table.

Derman.

Yes that I can my selfe alone M. Nowell without anie other helpe. Is the first epistle of S. Paule to the Corinth. anie parte of the newe testament? I trust you wil saye yea, seing that one of youre places is taken out of that epistle. Yea but is the ninth chapitre anie parte of that epistle? If it be, then haue you there expresse mention of altars, where the texte saith that they that serue the altar shall liue by the altar. And againe to the Hebrues: *we haue an altar whereof they maye not eate that serue the tabernacle.* Where you can not saye, that he ment of any altar other then of the newe testament: for he compareth together the tabernacle of the olde law and the altar of the new. How saye you nowe M. Nowell haue we scripture for altars out of the newe testament or no? I thinke you will say that we haue, and he that shal wel way the places, that they are better applied the are youre toe. For whereas you woulde seme to wipe away all such places of the fathers and aunciēt writers (which be infinite, and the worde altara hundred times no doubt mentioned in their writings for the worde table once) by a figuratiue speche (by which reason and by better to as you haue by figures robbed vs already of Christes body and bloud, the sacrifice of the churche: so you might bring the temple it selfe to a figure, because the Apostle saith, *templum Dei quod estis vos*: the temple of God which are you) it is the worde table that is figuratiuely vsed, as well in the scriptures as the fathers writings. As namely in this place here alleaged by you of the Apostle, where it is saide: *Yow can*

1. Cor. 9.

Hebr. 12.

not be partakers of the table of the Lorde, and of the table of the diuels. Is not the worde table which you here bring to proue youre communion table by, (whereas if you would nedes vse that worde, you shoulde haue taken the table here mentioned in the seconde place which agreeth more aptly thereto) is it not I saye a plaine figuratiue worde, signifieng to vs the feast or banket exhibited thereupon? For when he sayeth, partakers of the table, it shoulde go verie harde with them that shoulde eate, if that were propre speache you wote well. And thus you maye see, that we haue not onelye scripture for altars aswell as you, but more proper also, and that better proue the same then the places by you brought.

You saye, that if S. Basile and some other olde writers call it an altar, that is no propre but a figuratiue name &c.

O M. Nowell you knowe well inough howe euer you woulde here extenuate the matter, that it is not S. Basile alone with some fewe other that so call it, but all the auncient writers euen from the Apostle Paules time to oures, haue so called it, and that the contrarie is moste true, that as they haue vsed this worde *table* seldom times: so they haue vsed it at suche times (as did S. Paule) to signifie by a figure either the heauenly banquet deliuered vpon the same, or for that an altar hath the office and is in dede a spirituall table. The whiche thing youre selfe woulde not sticke to graunt, were it not that the graunting of a true altar were like to enforce a true sacrifice. But to the entent the worlde may perceiue how you abuse them both in the one and the other: I wil here oute of certaine aunciēt writers saye so muche as I trust they shall all perceiue, that this figuratiue altar and figuratiue sacrifice, is the false fable and vaine dreame

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Nowell.
fol. 14.
b. 27.

Dorman.

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Nowell.
fol. 14.
b. 27.

Dorman.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

ame that you speake of, onely mete for such figure flingers
as you are your selfe. M. Nowell,

1H. ca. 17.
Epistol. ad
Burdegala-
lens.

Touching altars that they be not so called of the fathers
by figure but truly, what better proufe can you haue then
out of Martialis the B. of Burdeaulx, one of the 70. disciples
of our Sauour: who speaking of suche altars as were thro-
wen downe by the Apostles, and at the last of that dedica-
ted to the vnknownen God, whereof is mention made in
the actes of the Apostles, writeth thus. *Dum altaria demo-
num in puluerem redigerentur, aram ignoti Dei reseruari iussi-
mus. Qua dedicata in nomine Dei Israel, & ipsius testis Stepha-
ni, qui pro eo a Iudeis passus est, non hominis cultum sed Dei in
ea frequentatis.* That is to saye: while the aultars of the di-
uels were brought to powder, we commaunded the altar
of the vnknownen God to be reserued. The whiche being
dedicate in the name of the God of Israel, and of his witnes-
se Steuin which suffred for him of the Iewes, you doe not
now practise thereupō the worshipping of man but of god.
Can there be a plainer place then this M. Nowell to proue
that which you denie, and which you woulde drawe to so
greate an absurdite, as that because the Iewes had altars,
therefore it were vnlauffull for vs to haue them. Whereas
you here may learne, that Christes owne disciples without
pulling downe, without anie other changing or altering
then by dedicating it in the name of god and S. Steuin, v-
fed a material altar to worship God vpon. Can you cal this
a figuratiue altar?

b. 25.

Homil. 53.

Chryfostome in a certaine homely or sermon that he
made to the people of Antioche asketh this question. *Si
quis hanc destrueret domum & hoc suffoderet altare nonne qui-
libet eum lapidibus obrueret tanquam prophanum & impium?*
If one shoulde destroye this house, and digg vp this altar
would

woulde not euery man caste stones at him as a prophane
or wicked man? How thinke you M. Nowell when to o-
uerthrowe altars they must be digged vp; ment Chryso-
stome of figuratiue altars or small tables? There nedeth
you wote wel neither matock nor pykeax to remoue you-
re tables. If there did they woulde not I trow walke their
stations so often in the churche from place to place as they
doe, especially if the clarcke or minstre shoulde be in da-
nger to be stoned to deathe, to be taken for a prophane
and wicked man so often as he shoulde doe it. For altars this
maye suffice, especially the testimonie of Chrysostome,
who living in the same age ought to perswade all reasonable
men what maner of altars they were that S. Basile ment of,
rather then M. Nowels simple reason, because it is saide that
Christ offred him selfe vpo the altar of the crosse, therefore no altars
maie be set vp vnlesse we will turne all crosses in to altars. Wheras
although it were true, that he imagineth, that the crosse whe-
reon Christ suffred was called an altar by a figure (as in-
dede to him that considereth the greke worde it is, not true
but false, for a true altar was it) yet had it not folowed,
that because there was a figure in those wordes, where so-
euer in anie place elles there shoulde be mention made of
an altar, there it shoulde be vnderstand by a figure

For the sacrifice offered vpon oure altars which we laye
to be the verie bodye and bloude of Christe: Yow phan-
tasye to be a spirituall thanks giuing onely, and drawe to
the sacrifice of praier, how muche might here be saied to
the contrarye if it were not impertinent to the matter?
Omitting therefore *Irenaeus*, *Cyphian*, *Ambrose*, *Austen*,
Chrysostome, *Cirillus*, *Athanasius* with the rest: I shall here
be contented to haue alleaged one onely testimonie oute
of the councell of Calcedon, so euident to the purpose, that
G bothe

Fol. 15. a. 3

Omnino

bothe the distinction of the bloody and vnbloudy offering
of Christes body and bloude, (which yow M. Nowell
thought you might here vpon the credite of youre bare ho-
nestie without farder proesse affirme to be abused) is pro-
ned thereby to be good, and youre onely spirituall sacrifice
viterly condēned. The place is taken out of the libell which
one Isehyron a deaco of the church of Alexandria offered
vp to Leo the pope, and the whole counsell against Diosco-
rus the bishop there, and is this: *Tanta autem contra omnes*
(non sicut decebat episcopum, & maxime tanta ciuitatis, & euangeli-
ce illius sedis presulem constitutum perpetrare ausus est, ut
etiam & frumentum quod a pijs nostris imperatoribus, eccle-
sijs Libie propter ariditatem illius prouincie, & quia ibi omnino
triticum non nascitur, præsinitum est, imprimis quidem ut ex ipso
hostia offeratur: deinde ut & peregrini, nec non etiam & provin-
ciales pauperes aliquod mereantur solatium, non permitteret susci-
pere sanctissimos episcopos illius prouincie, sed aestimaret me-
moratum frumentum largissimis pretijs, ipsum vero in
tempore famis amarissimis estimationibus venundaret. Et
ex hoc, neque terribile & incruentum sacrificium celebratum
est, neque sic (ut dixi) peregrini aut provinciales hoc so-
lacio frui sunt. That is to saye. He hath bene so hardy to
commit so greate thinges against all men (not as it became
a bishop, and especially of so greate a cite and of that
euangelicall seate) that euen the verie corne which was
giuen by oure godlye emperours to the churches of Libya
for the barrenesse of that prouince and because there gro-
weth no wheate there, chiefelie that the sacrifice might
be offred of that, and next that strangers and suche pore
nedy men also as be of the same prouince, might receiue
some reliefe therby, he suffreth not the holy bishoppes of
that prouince to receiue, but prysing the saide corne at
exces.

18.3.

ut ex ipso
hostia offe-
ratur.

excelsiue prices, in time of famine he selleth it most rigorously. And thereby neither is the dreadfull and vnbloudy sacrifice celebrate, neither doe either strangers or those of the prouince enioye this comforte. Hetherto the wordes of this godly deacons supplication, whereby all men maye see, that the beliefe of the church at that tyme was, that the vnbloudy sacrifice which was offred on the altar, stode not in the onely offering vp of praier and praises vnto god. Which kinde of sacrifice might and may be offred at all times were there neuer so great lacke of corne, and can be by no meanes called dreadfull. For it is not dreadfull M. Nowell to prayse god inwardly: it is the onely comfort to oure cōsciences, so far is it from all terrour. But terrible is it to come to goddes table, where we shall receiue either to oure damnation or saluation, the very bodie and bloud of Christ. Go nowe and saye that the wheate here mentioned was figuratiue, that this naughtie bishop solde, and toke monie for it by a figure. For excepte yow saie thus yow can neuer auoide this place.

Now whereas yow call it a false phantasie that the bodie and bloud of Christ are offred for the quicke and the deade &c. therein surely yow note not so muche me of dreaming, as if it were true that yow saye, yow shoulde note all the fathers of Christes church of sleping. For to begin with S. Iames the apostle of oure sauour, praieyth he not in his masse extant in the greke tongue to be sene, *that this oblation sanctified by the holy ghost maye be acceptable to purchase rest for sheir soules which slepe before vs?* Doe not Chrysostome and S. Basile the like in their masses? Doth not *Athanasius* expressly affirme, *that by the vnbloudy oblation the soules of sinners departed this worlde receiue comfort?* Doth not S. Hierome holde that *veniall sinnes maye be purged after this life by the*

A DISPROVE OF M.

De verb.
apost. serm.
52.

Lib. confes.
2. cap. 13.

Lib. 2. con-
tra Iulian.
circa fin.

Hebr. 10.

Ibid.

Ro. 16. 2. 10.

prayers or almoise dedes of their frindes, or by the celebrating off
masses? As for S. Austen who calleth it a tradition of the fa-
thers, an obseruation of the whole and vniuersall church, to of-
fer for the soules departed the sacrifice of Christes moste pretious
body and bloude, the sacrifice of oure mediator, who offered the
same for the soule of his mother Monica, and had it offered
after his deathe for his owne: these and manie other places
in his worckes, are to moste men so well knowen, that to
allege them here it maye seme superfluous. What remain-
eth nowe M. Nowell, but that as S. Austen saide to Iulian
a scholer of Pelagius, after he had alleaged against his
heresies the learned writers of the church: *Ego a Pe-
lagianis ad istos: tu ab istis ad quos?* I go from the Pelagi-
ans to these (learned fathers) thow from these to whome
wilt thou go: so I saie to you (a scholer of Caluins) tou-
ching this matter: I go from the Caluinistes to S. Iames,
to Chrysostome, to Basile, to Athanasius, and you M. No-
well from these to whome will you go? If you saie to the
scriptures, wherby it appereth that Christ offered him self once
for al, &c. the hark how you be yet pressed farder by S. Au-
sten. *Why (saith he) be al thinges so out of frame, is darcknesse
so come to passe to be light and light darcknesse, that Pelagius, Ce-
lestius, Iulianus, should see: and Hilary, Gregory and Ambrose
should be blinde?* Why M. Nowel, is the ordre of thinges so in-
uerted, that Nowel, Luell, Grindall, Horne, yea Luther and
Caluin if yow will, should see this obiection, and S. Iames,
Basile, Athanasius, Hierome, Austen, and he which mo-
ueth the same obiection out of the 10. chap. of S. Paule to
the Hebrues, Chrysostom him selfe, and answereth thereto,
should be blinde and not see it? Thus appeareth it, by how
good right you ouerthrow our altars, on which the greatest
Idolatric that you feine to haue bene committed, was the
ob-

oblation of Christes bodye and bloud, which you see to be by the iudgement of the most auncient fathers of Christes church justified, and therefore were the examples of Asa, Iosaphat, Ezechias, and Iosias, moste wickedly abused by you for the ouerthrowing of oure altars, and consequently that youre doctrine is diuelishe whereby altars are taught to be ouerthrowen, whereby the visible sacrifice of the church is abolished, and such like.

As for the holie daies how euer you kepe those that be left, you can not denie but that manie a one instituted by the church you haue put downe, and would count the keeping of them now superstitious. And as for hymnes and singing in the night if you counted it not superstition: why haue you taken that maner away, which Chrysostom witnesseth that the monkes in this time vsed for the moste part of the night? Which singing of theirs in the darcke and whe other were a flape, he preferred before the melodiousse harmonie of any musical instrument what so euer it were, and therefor to this you haue answered but scledrely, saing that you haue such godly and goodly songes in the daye, as tho ough we had song only in the night and not in the day.

Your ministres what maner of men they be I am content to leaue to their iudgement who liuing in the realme emongest the cā better witnesseth thereof. Of whose coning in the English tōgue as much as you brag and deface the latin, as did once a gentlemā in kinge Edward his time, who minding to comend to Hoper for orders forsooth, one of these mere English brethern, said of him verie sadly, that he was an honest mā, in whō a mā should find no other lacke saue that he had no knowledge in the popish tōgue: yea could I name you some iwissh, euē the pewterer of Oxford with one eye, that whe he happened vpo the wordes of the prophet.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

The lord of God of oſtes, the ſpirit leaping vpon him, was ſtreight in a greate rage againſt the papiftes, ſaing that they had corrupted the liuely word of the lord by adding to the texte the worde (oſtes: againe that other greate clerke that for *Chriſte is the propitiation &c.* reade *Chriſte is the prouocation*: theſe I ſaie with other of like ſkill in the Engliſhe tongue manie mo, I coulde name if I thought it nedefull. And alldthough theſe haue not perhappes yeat anie greate learned mannes liuing: yeat haſte he, that was made not manye yeres ſince beleue by theſe wordes *Miſſa fuit a Corincho* (which are in ſome bibles after the ende of the epiſt-le to the Romaines) that the name of the maſſe was expreſſely mentioned in the ſcripture.

Cole.

Nowell.
ſo. 17. a. 11

To cloke the better the ignoraunce of youre miniſtres, you tell vs, that S. Peter a fiſher and S. Paule a tente maker vſed their artes after their calling to the Apoſtleſhip, that you muche merueile of my iudgement who doe place Peter the fiſher in the higheſt rounge aboue all biſhoppes, and can not ſuffer other honeſt artificiers ſufficiently exerciſed in the ſcriptures to haue any place at all in the inferiour miniſterie.

Dorman.

Hem il. in
Matth. 55.

Matth. 16.

Herem. 1.

Note.

Peter was a fiſher, and placed aboue all biſhop-pes, not by me (to take awaye youre merueilinge) but by Chriſte him ſelfe, if you beleue Chriſoſtome, who ſaith of him, *that Chriſte promiſed to make him by theſe wordes. And I ſaie vnto the that tho warte Peter &c. being an obſcure fiſher, the ſhepeherde and heade of the churche, that God the Father ſaing to Hieremias: I haue placed the as an Iron piller, and a braſen wall, made him the gouernour but of one nation, but that Chriſte placed Peter ouer all the worlde.* Paule had his learning in the ſcriptures and ſo had Peter to by inſpiration. Will you nowe becauſe after their calling to the Apoſtleſhip they vſed their occupations, make this ſpeciall

cial working of God, done of his high wisdom to cōfound the princes, and worldly wise of this world, a cloke for eue-ry malapert artificer to brag of the spirit, to clyme into the pulpit, more mete as one no lesse truly then merely saide, to clyme a dawes neast, as though Christ vsed now to worke by miracles, as he did thē, and not by ordinarie meanes and degrees. This is a reaso, M. Nowel reiected of al learned mē, but common I confesse to youre apren ministers. Reade the epistle of S. Hierome to *Paulinus*, and you shall see, that although the Apostles were *Theodidacti*, yea men must lo-ke now adayes to come to the knowledge of scripture by exercise and daily meditation.

As for that that you saye they are sufficiently exercised in the scriptures, because no man shall saie that I charge you furder then by them of youre owne side hath bene aeknowledged: call to your remēbraunce the oration made in the conuocation by him that was then prolocutour not longe since, wherein speaking of youre ministres he vttered these wordes: *Hodie plerisque locis reperias aut sutorem, aut bubulum, aut tonsorem, aut circulatorum & circumforaneum, aut aliquē huiusmodi ministerio adhibitū, qui bonas literas ne à limine quidē vnquā salutarit.* At this daye in manie places a man shal finde, either a shoemaker, or a cowheard, or a barbar, or a iuggler, or a mountebanke ronnegate, or some suche other made ministre, who neuer strided so muche as ouer the tresshold into the schole where good learning is taught.

Where you saye that we haue burned so many of youre learned clerckes that you are driuen to supply small cures with some honest artificiers: I surely loke ouer youre calendre againe and you shal finde, that the greatest nombre of them was of suche craftesmen as we speake of, and that the lear-
ned

Iannarij.
13. 1562.

fol. 17. a.

ned that passed that waies, were verie fewe to haue furnished those cures that youre honest craftes men, be as it is were into their shoppes crept into.

Howe the saing of S. Cyprian that heresies and schismes rise of the contempt of the bishop which is one, is applied to the B. of Rome.

The 6. chapitre.

Epistol. 9.
Lib. 4.

fo. 17. b. 18

I saied that it had bene declared by S. Cyprian before, that the diuell in his attemptes against the churchē ysed alwaies to beginne with the banishment of the bishop which is one, &c. By this one bishop in this place you saie I make Saint Cyprian vnderstande the B. of Rome. I doe so M. Nowel, but not directly or immediatly. You are deceiued much and vnderstad not my meaning if you so thinke. For as I confesse that bothe in the one place and in the other of S. Cyprian, he made vnderstande the bishoppes and gouernours of euery particuler churchē: so am I not also ignorant, that youre conclusion, Ergo, there is not one wordement off the bishop off Rome. is moſte false. For when S. Cyprian saied in these places that schismes whichē arise by the diuels working, where so euer they springe vp, come by the banishing of their auctoritie who be appointed to gouerne the churchē (let it be I graunt so muche, of euery bishop in his owne diocesse) might not I who presupposed in this introduction of mine (which in the processe also I proued) that the B. of Rome was the chiefe heade of all other, conclude, that then by a greater reason S. Cyprians minde was that schismes and heresies shoulde come by the forsaking of the B. of Rome, although by name he spake not of him. As if for example it were written in the lawes of our malma. Treasons and rebellie rise by the deserting of
the lie-

the lieutenants which is one in the Shiere: shoulde he now sa-
 ye amisse that to exhorte men to abide in the obedience of
 their prince, woulde reason from the auctoritie of the la-
 we, that by contempt of the kinge, rebellion the trouble-
 feast of all good ordre taketh beginning: I thinke no man
 will so saye. And yeat speaketh not the lawe by name off
 the king. Allthough no man can denie, but that if the lawe
 woulde so saie of an inferiour membre, it woulde not let
 to saie as muche of the chiefe membre of all. Yow will gra-
 unte youre selfe, that although S. Cyprian named not the
 B. of Rome, yeat in that sence, as he is bishopp of the dio-
 cesse of Rome, he ment of him. Which seing you doe, why
 maie not I, who take him to haue aswell iurisdiction ouer
 the whole church, as ouer that of Rome, applye to him
 by the waye of introduction this place as well as you doe
 to euery particuler bishop, notwithstanding they be not by
 name mentioned, which is youre reason here made to
 the contrary? And thus muche for the applieng of this
 place to the B. of Rome. And as for the quietnes, peace, secur-
 ritie, plenty of thinges &c. that (yow saye) you haue nowe more
 then of late vnder the pope: if you meane of youre selfe and
 youre companions, comparing youre present state with
 that of late of *Genoa*, surely I thinke yow saye truthe. Al-
 though I ment generallie and of the better parte of the re-
 alme. For although you wallow in wealth, and youre selues
 be so provided for, either to abide or to flye, with youre
 banckes as it is supposed all readye made in the marchan-
 res handes: although the wooddes wasted, the leade plucked
 from the greate palaces haules and kitchins (to greate for
 youre little hospitalitie and small roste) the beneuolences
 exacted of the pore priestes, haue filled youre coffers: final-
 ly although youre brattes be provided of the best fermes

B. 15.

H

and

Contic. To-
letan. 9.
Can. 10.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

and manours belonging to the churches, to the whiche by the olde canons (I speake of the children of priestes, for you I vnderstand are but a single solled ministre) they ought to be bond slaues: yeat are other men pinched and complaine of the lacke of that quietnes, that peace, that securitie, and plenty of thinges that 30. yeares ago they had. For you abuse men to much to compare the time present, with the late time of Quene Marye, in the which neither was the popes auctoritie fully restored with all men, neither would Dauus suffer vs to enjoy this quietnes, peace &c, that you speake of: who by violent armes, by seditionse bokes, by sclaunderouse tongues, by infamouse and lieng libelles, finally by all meanes sought to hindre the same, and to stirre vp the subiect against the prince. And yeat in good sooth the comparifon being so made, the oddes is not so cleare as yowe take it to be. But howeuer it be M. Nowell, I spake here of no suche worldly respectes as yow woulde seeme to make me. I spake and ment of ouerthrowing of churches and altars, of the contempt of learned men, of the teaching of euil doctrine, of the promoting to ecclesiasticall ministeries, weuers, tynckers, coblers, brome-men &c. I ment of peace and quietnesse in conscience, of simplicitie and vpright dealing betwene man and man, with suche like thinges. Which if youre selfe doe not perceiue since oure first reuolt from the pope to be muche empaired, then are yow a piece of deade fleshe and desperately braine sicke. For so saith Hippocrates of them who being sicke feale not the grieve of their disease. Your promise to proue that where the pope hath had the greatest auctoritie, there he hath brought in with him all miseries, mischiefes &c. shall in the place where you perfourme it be answered.

Howe

Howe Maximus, Vrbanus and Sidonius, went from the church by not acknowledging the authoritie of the B. of Rome, and how they returned to the same againe by acknowledging it.

The.7. Chapter.

M. Nowell, after that he hath declared that the state of the controuersie betwene Nouatus (whome *Maximus, Vrbanus*, and *Sidonius* folowed) and Cornelius the pope, was, which of them two was a catholike bishop holding the truth, and truly, and lafully chosen by God, and which was the intruder, and not of the catholike church, but an heretike, concludeth thus:

Wherefore it is euident, that when M. Dorman saith, that those men returned againe to the church by this way, that is to saye, by the acknowledging Cornelius to be the heade of the vniuersall church, he saith moste vnruly.

Nowell.
Fo. 19. a. 32

Yf you considre well my wordes M. Nowell that went last before, and vpon which these depende, you shall finde that I doe here as sence the beginning I haue done, kepe my selfe close to the argument of my preface or introduction. Which is to shewe, that the going from the heade is the cause of all schisme, and the returning to the same the cause of vnitie and concorde. This as it is euidently true whether the heade be particuler or generall: so the more that suche heade is generall and vniuersall the more true is it. The schisme hath bene proued by the departing of Nouatus the heretike from Cornelius his lafull head, the B. of Rome: The vnitie is here declared by the returne of Maximus, Vrbanus, and Sydonius from the faction of Nouatus to pope Cornelius. What nede yow then here to laye to my charge, that I saye vnruly

Dorman.

Lib. 2.
epist. 12.

A DISPROVE OF M.

that these men returned to the church by acknowledging Cornelius to be the head of the vniuersall church, which as I saye not in this place, so was it not nedefull that I shoulde. My wordes haue relation to those other where I saye, that we first reuolt frō the church by contemning and not acknowledging the heade (without any expresse mention of the heade of the vniuersall church) and that so muste our returne thither againe be by the cōtrary &c. And that so did those that after their falle with *Nonatus*, S. Cyprian receiued into the church againe. What (So) did they, construe english M. Nowell I praye yow) did they not so returne to their heade as they had forsaken him? Doe not yowe confesse as muche youre selfe in this veye place? well then this place proueth well that vnitie acknowledged is the ende of diuision, which is the onely marke that I shoote at in this preface. That this vnitie is especially to be considered in the pope, that was not to be showed here, but woulde folowe I knew of it selfe vpo this fundatiō laied, here after, there where the popes auctoritie shoulde of purpose be handled. It cometh in by the waye as it were, that the example is founde betwene the B. of Rome and *Nonatus* going from his vnitie, and *Maximus* returning to it. Any other example would haue serued my turne in this behalfe, but the case standing so, that I had to treat of the B. of Rome, those examples liked me best which being directly of him, might better declare the vnitie and more liuely set furthe the schisme, by how muche the one or the other was greater, as falling from or ioyning with him, who was not a common bishop but the head or chiefe of all other. Although I might well defende that this exāple is suche (as is that which foloweth of *Vrsatius* and *Valens*) as maye serue bothe for my preface to commend vnitie, and for the matter it selfe to proue the

the popes auctoritie by acknowledging thereof. For you see here that they confessed that there must be one bishop in the catholike church. Which wordes not withstanding that you labour to drawe to an other sense, and I denie not but that they haue some ambiguitie: Yet if we conside of whome they were spoken, that is of *Cornelius* the B. of Rome, and successor of Peter, called by *Arnobius* an auncient writer, *Episcopus episcoporum*, the bishop of bishopps, it wil not be absurde to thinke, that by that one bishop they met the B. of Rome successor of Peter and so the bishop of bishopps.

In psal.
138.

Here, because no small vantage as you iudge, lieth in the translating of these words in *ecclesia catholica*, you thinke that I shoulde haue said, in a catholike church.

Nowell.
Fol. 20. a.
20.

In dede if I were of youre minde that the chaire of S. Peter were but one amongst manie like or equall, and his church as one of the rest, the translation might well haue bene used that you speake of. But whereas I am resolued and prone it in place, that there is difference betwene S. Peters chaire (as hath S. Auston) and the chaires of other bishopps, that the church of Rome is not onely a catholike church being taken for a peculier place: but in a true sense also the catholike church, when it is taken for the mother church of all Christes flocke, because it is all one to saye the church of Christ in earthe, and the church of Rome, as by S. Ambrose it is to be proued: who when S. Paule had saide *the church of God to be the pillar of truth*, S. Ambrose wel knowing that he spake not of any one church but of the whole, doubted not to say *cunctis hominibus restitit Damasus*, whose ruler at this tyme Damasus is, who was the pope: you maye not marueile if I translate not the wordes as you doe. The same S. Ambrose in the funerall oration of his brother Satyrus telleth, that minding to receiue the

Dorman.

Lib. 2. de
baptis.
c. 1. De
nat. Cap. 1.

1. Timoth. 3

A DISPROVVE OF M.

blesſed ſacramēt wherby he had a litle before beneſaued frō
drowning in the ſea, he aſked the biſhop at whoſe handes
he thought to take it, whether he agreed with other catho-
like biſhoppes, that is (ſaith S. Ambroſe) with the churchē
of Rome. What was this elles but to aſke him whether he a-
greed with that churchē, which becauſe it contained all ca-
tholike biſhoppes in her lappe, and none he toke for a ca-
tholike but him that agreed with that churchē: he iudged to
be the catholike church. Yow ſee therefore M. Nowel that it
is no ſuche abſurditie as yow thinke, to tranſlate theſe wor-
des in *catholica eccleſia* in the catholike church. For what pri-
uileage haue you I praye you more then I, that yow maie
tranſlate the worde *catholica eccleſia*: of the catholike churchē,
and that I muſt engliſhe the ſame wordes of a *catholike
churchē*? Or why ſhoulde it be laſfull for you ſo to tranſlate
them twiſe, when alleaging thoſe wordes of S. Cyprian
Epifcopo Cornelio in catholica eccleſia, Yow engliſhe them the
ſecond time, the *B. Cornelius in the catholike churchē*, which
you will not ſuffer me to doe ſo much as once? Ah M. No-
wel is this euen dealing? Or thinke you when you haue do-
ne to colour the matter by a feined rule of youre owne
making, which ſaith that *Epifcopus catholica eccleſia*, and
Epifcopus in eccleſia catholica are as much to ſay as a catholike
biſhop. I graunte that in ſome places they are ſo M. Nowell.
Will you therefore make a generall rule that they muſt al-
waies be ſo taken, and in no place otherwiſe?

fo. 19. b. 8

fo. 20. a. 8
Cipr. li. 3.
epiſt. 13.

Li. 3.
Epiſt. 11.
f. 20. a. 13
Li. 3. ep. 13

Muche like to this is the argument that you make
to proue that *Maximus* and his fellowes called not *Corne-
lius* biſhopp of the catholike churchē in this place here
brought by me, Cyprian (ſaye yow) called not *Cornelius* biſ-
shop of the Catholike churchē: but biſhop *Cornelius* ordeined
in the catholike churchē. Ergo, *Maximus* and his two compa-
nions

-fold

II

nions called not Cornelius bishop of the Catholike church
Is not this a goodly kinde of reasoning? Wl you see the li-
ke? M. Nowell preached not at Poules crosse that there was
no scripture, no councelles, no doctours, no allowed exam-
ples of the primitiue church to proue the supremacie of
the B. of Rome, ergo, M. Iuell did not. I thinke M. Iuell wo-
ulde giue you a good slice out of his benefice vpon the
condition that you coulde proue this consequent to be
good. And that thus you reason can you not denie. For the
wordes alleaged by me here out of S. Cyprian be not Saint
Cyprian his, but the verie wordes by his owne confession
of the pore penitentes. And therefore to bring a phrased out
of S. Cyprian to proue that because he did not so saye, the-
refore another did not, if this were all, were a greate faulte
in reasoning. But now if the wordes had bene in bothe the
places S. Cyprians owne, then had youre reason bene like
to this: M. Nowell preaching before the Quenes highnes at
the courtesaide not that it woulde do him good to raise his
buckler vpon a papistes face: ergo, he said not so at Pow-
les crosse.

Lib. 3. ep̃
fol. 11.

You object againe against this place to be ment of one
chiefe bishop ouer the whole church, that then as there is o-
ne onely God and none but he: so there shoulde be but one o-
nely bishop and no more but he.

Nowell
fol. 20. b.
12.

That were true M. Nowell, if as God is the name off a
moste simple nature and excellencie, so the name of a bis-
hop were suche as woulde admitte no degree of dignitie.
When it is saide that there is one bishop in the catholike
church, it is ment one chiefe bishop. For it is not necessa-
rie that in all pointes this similitude of one God, and one
bishop shoulde agree. It ought to suffice yo u, that the simi-
litude standeth vpright in that, wherein the comparison is
made

Dorman.

A · D I S P R O V E · O F · M.

1. Cor. 3.

made, which is here of gouernement : that as one God gouerneth heauen and earthe: so there shoulde be one chiefe bishop to gouerne vnder him the church in earthe. Thus forasmuche as there be degrees in bishoppes, though in God there be naturally none (for by abuse of Idolatres, and by participation of name there be also manie Goddes and manie lordes as witnesseth S. Paule) it is sufficient, that as there is one God, so there ought to be one chiefe bishop, not excluding the reste, but referring them to their heade, by meanes whereof and in which sense there is one bishop-rike and one bishop. And so consequently it foloweth, that my marginall note of *one God: one bishoppe* (meaning as you saye I did) was not in vaine.

Nowell.
fol. 21. a. 6
Lib. 4.
Epist. 9.

Dorman.

The next obiection of youres, why in this place these wordes *one bishop in the catholike church*, shoulde not be vnderstand of one especiall bishoppe ouer all : you confirme by S. Cyprian in diuerse places. First by that which he hath of one Bishop in the firste booke the 3. epistle, then by a sentence taken out of his epistle to Papianus, afterwarde by certaine wordes of his to Antonius, and last of all by that which he hath in his booke *de simplicitate prelator*. or *de unitate Ecclesie*. not farre from the beginning. To the first two places youre selfe seme not muche to trust (although folowing the preceptes of youre arte you are content to vse them to make a shewe of store) either because youre conscience telleth you that the reason foloweth not. *He saith so in this place : therefore he must nedes saye so in the other*, either elles, because youre selfe perceiued, that there is a greate difference betwene these places by reason of the worde *catholike*. For in the place here alleaged, the schismatikes returning to the church confessed that there must be one bishop in the catholike church : in these two places auouched by you S. Cyprian saith that heresies doo spring or arise by contempt of the bishop whiche

gouerneth the church and is one. Now as the latter wordes maye according to the circumstances of the place and here are I doubt not, taken for the seuerall heade of euery bishoprike : so the firste can not well otherwise be taken then to exclude all particuler churches, by reason of the worde *catholike* which signifieth vniuersall, addid thereto: especially the wordes being translated *the catholike church* and not a catholike churches, as by youre owne so turning of them and otherlike to them it appeareth they must. Off the thirde place out of the epistle to Antonius you conclude nothing neither, but turne the matter ouer to the laste auctoritie of S. Cyprian, in his booke *De simplicitate prelatorum* where mooste plainely (you saye) he declareth his minde of this one bishoprike wholly and equally possessed of all and euerie bishop. Well then at the length M. Nowell from post to pillar, you become thither where you will cast ancre. Where-with I also for my parte am well contented, and desire no better then to be in this controuersie tried by S. Cyprian.

Now shewe how S. Cyprian maketh for you, that is, nothing for the B. of Rome his supremacie, but directly against it. For those be the wordes that you conclude withall vpon this place. That doe you after this maner, S. Cyprian saith that there is one bishoprike which euery bishop hath wholly for his parte. Ergo, consequently all bishoppes be equall and no one can be aboue an other. I denie the consequent M. Nowell. Will you knowe why? This worde (*episcopatus*) comprehendeth here by S. Cyprian his minde; the whole nature of that kinde of gouernement which bishoppes haue, as if in like wise a man shoulde saye: *Vnum est sacerdotium* there is one priestehode in the church, which euery priest hath wholly for his parte, woulde you now thinke that vpon this proposition it were well done to conclude of priestes (as you doe of bishoppes) that therefore because

Nowell.
fo. 21. b.
25.
Lib. de
Simplicitate
prelatorum.
Dormans.

A DISPROVE OF M.

Can. 15.
in Concil.
Carthag.
4. can. 17.

in nature off priesthode they be all equall, the meanest as trulye and wholly participating the nature thereof as the chiefe, there shoulde be no one priest in dignitie of gouernement aboue the other, and so ouerthrowe the office of *archipresbiteri*, chiefe priestes, whereof the counsell of Toures in Fraunce aboute the time off *Pelagius* the first aboue a thousand yeares past maketh mention. But what speake I of priesthode, will yow condemne the whole church of Christe for making of Archebishoppes? I thinke yow wil not. And what signifieth this worde Archebishoppe but a chiefe bishop? If there maye be one chiefe bishop in euerye prouince, aboue the rest of his fellow bishoppes, and yeat no hindrance to the rest or diminishing of their power, that they shoulde not be bishoppes aswell as he, why maye not the same proportion be kept betwene the pope and the rest of the bishoppes of Christendome, that is betwene the archebishop and the other bishoppes of the prouince? But these be but wordes yow saye. Call them what you will, they lacke not reason, and therefore answere them as yow can, for answere them you must, without you will giue ouer in the plaine felde. But I will ioine to reason auctoritie, not of any meane writer but euen of S. Austen him selfe, who it is likely vnderstode as well the meaning of S. Cyprian, as yow M. Nowell. I trust yow will not be angry, with me for saing so. For as good I saye it as other thinke it. The wordes of S. Austen writing to pope Boniface about the resisting of the Pelagians heresie are these. *Cum vero non desinam fremere ad dominici gregis causas, atque ad diripiendas tanto pretio redemptas aues aditus undecunque rimari, communisque sit omnibus nobis qui fungimur Episcopatus officio, quamuis ipse in eo praeineas celsiore fastigio specula pastoralis, facio quod possum pro mei particula*

Lib. 1. cō-
tra duas
epist. Pe-
lag. Cap. 1.

ticula muneris &c. Nowe whereas the heretikes ceasse not to gnash and whett their teethe at the foldes of our lordes flocke, and by all meanes possible to searche out, where they maye finde any entraince to spoyle those shepe, that haue bene so dearely raunfomed, and the bishoprike the office whereof we susteine is common to vs all, although your selfe haue the preeminence therein, by reason of the higher toppe of the pastorall watche tower: I doe what I can for that pece of charge which is committed to me, as much as oure lorde by the helpe of youre prayers vouchesauffeth to giue me, to withstand their pestilent and deceitfull writings by other that shall be both: wholesome and defensiue, whereby either the rage wherewith they are starcke madde, maye be vtterly cured, or at the least kept from hurting of others. These be the wordes of S. Austen, who confelleth with S. Cyprian, that the office of a bishoppe is comon to al-bishoppes with the pope, and yeat condemneth notwithstanding most plainly youre consequent falsely brought in there vpon, Therefore all-bishoppes be æquall and none aboue an other. For you haue hearde, that the pope Boniface, to whome he wrote, was aboue all the rest in expresse wordes. Thus is this conclusion of youre. Euery bishop hath *in solidum*, that is to saie, fully and wholly that one bishopricke or bishoply function and office. ergo no one can haue more than the whole, and therefore no one can be aboue all other, by grauntinge the consequent to be true touching the nature and substaunce of a bishoppes auctoritie and office, but denieng it to folow in preeminence and dignitie, shewed to be a false conclusion.

But yeat yow goe forward and saie, that this one bishoprike is diuided æqually emongest all bishoppes, as faithe and baptisme are æqually and wholly deuied emongest the faithful baptised, and that therefore as no one man hath any superioritie

One bishoprike
common
to all, ex-
cludeth
not one
B. to be a-
boue all
the rest.

fo. 12. a. b.

Nowell.
a. 25.

In solidum

A DISPROVVE OF M.

in baptisme or faith aboue other truely faithfull and baptised, so hath no one bishop superioritie ouer other bishoppes, &c.

Dorman.

S. Cyprian maketh not his comparison here betwene faith, baptisme and the whole bishoprike of the church, otherwise then in this respect that eche of them is one, and the point that he compareth them in, is this, that as baptisme is one, as the faith of all faithful christiā is one, and yea al faithful and baptised haue not æquall auctoritie in gouernement, so the bishoprike is one, that as no man hath superioritie in baptisme or faith to be more a faithfull man or more baptised the an other: so no bishop hath of the one bishoprike common to all touching the true nature and substance of bishoply ordre, more superioritie of being a bishop then an other, but all bishoppes a lyke, the one as truly a bishop as the other touching ordre, although as you heard before out of S. Austen, the pope *alitus preeminet*, hath the higher preeminence, that is to say is in higher auctorite of iurisdiction then other bishoppes are. Thus much touching yore surmised comparison, which if it shoulde haue bene made, as you imagine, then must yow either condemne S. Cyprian him selfe for bearing the name of an Archebishop, or feine, that there is also an archebaptisme to set against the dignitie of archebishoprike, off the which two as no good man will doe the firste, so no wiseman will thinke the last. But howe so euer yowe take the matter M. Nowell, there is no comparison made in this place, till yowe come to the sentence, *Episcopatus vnus est*, there is one bishoprike. For the better knowledge whereof, it is to be vnderstande, that the thing which in this place S. Cyprian laboureth to persuaade, is (bothe in the bishoprike and in the church) vnitie. To proue this he vseth a cōparison, in this wise. *Episcopatus vnus est*,

&c.

Ecclēſia vna eſt, quomodo ſolis multi radij, ſed lumen vnum
 Eccl. The biſhoprike is one etc. The church is one, euen as
 many ſonne beames make one light etc. But now let vs exa-
 mine ſome one of theſe ſeueral comparisons, and you ſhall
 ſee, how litle this worde *in ſolidum*, wholly, maketh for your
 pretended equalitie emongſt all biſhoppes, and whether S.
 Cyprian ment as you do, or no.

Imagine you therfore with S. Cypr. this whole biſhoprike
 of the church to be a tree, the brāches wherof be the biſhop-
 pes ſeuered, the bodie of the tree the ſame biſhoppes ioyned
 together, the roote, the chiefe biſhoppe that holdeth the to-
 gether. Except this be the meaning of S. Cyprian, you can
 not make this comparison agree. For the waye to make
 the things cōpared agree, is (becauſe of the ſelues both the
 bowes of the tree, and biſhoppes of the church are many) to
 reduce the to one beginning. And as the ſame thing that
 maketh the tree one is a membre and parte thereof: ſo muſt
 that which ſhall make the biſhoprike one, be a mēbre of the
 ſame biſhoprike, that is to ſaye, a biſhop, although in that
 reſpect that he is a parte of the ſame bodie, equall with the
 reſt, as the roote by being of one cōmon ſubſtāce with the
 bodie and brāches, is aboue the other partes of the tree nor-
 withſtāding, becauſe they are all made one thereby, and take
 their life thereof, as appeareth at the eye. For cut away the
 roote and the bodie periſheth: Take away the roote of this
 biſhoprike, that one chiefe biſhop, which conioyneth all in
 one, you ſhall ſee ſo many ſchiſmes, as there be biſhoppes,
 and ſo ſhall all come to naught. Thus maye appere, how
 litle the worde, *in ſolidum*, wholly, whereby you would wreſt
 S. Cyprian to a forced meaning of yourſes, to ſaye, that be-
 cauſe euery biſhop had a part of this biſhoprike wholly, the-
 refore they were all equall in that biſhoprike, maketh for

The biſ-
 ſhoprike
 of the
 church
 compared
 to a tree.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

you, whereas in this tree compared to the whole bishopricke of the church, all and every bowe thereof hath of that common life which is in it, parte thereof *in solidum*, wholly, as well as the roote, which containeth them together, and the roote hath but his parte of that life *in solidum* nomore then hath the least branche there, and yet is the chiefe parte of the tree for all that. Thus you see, how euen by S. Cyprians owne auctoritie, you be cast in your own turne. And loke what hath bene sayed of the tree, the same may be sayed of the light of the sonne, or of many riuers comming frome one heade spring.

fo. 19. b. 4

A lye. 20.

As for that, that you note me of falsehoode for removing of the worde *Sanctissima*, frome his place, and changing it into *Sanctissimum*, for the removing of any word, that is a false lye. For it is you that place the word *Sanctissimum* out of his ordre, putting it before *Episcopum*, whereas it shoulde and dothe folowe in S. Cyprian after, and not I. As for the worde *Sanctissima* changed in to *Sanctissimum*, I confesse, that the best bookes reade otherwise. Which faulte either I committed by following some coppye, which had so, either els as it is a thinge easely done in writing, by taking out the place amisse. For to doe it of sett purpose as youre spiders nature, whiche is to turne all into poyson, surmiseth, what vantage shoulde I haue gotten thereby? If such titles would helpe, I coulde haue brought furth the epistles of the fathers of the counsels of Carthage, and Mileuet, where in their seuerall letters, they vse oftentimes to the pope, the worde *Sanctitas tua*, your holynesse, with diuerse other to that effect.

Aug. epist.
90. et 92.

Nowell.
fo. 12. b.
in fin.
1.

To conclude the matter (you saie) that Maximus and his fellowes had a controuersie with Cornelius altogether diuerse frome oures, and therefore that their example apperteineth nothing

thing to this case of the Popes supremacie, which then was neither moued nor knowen. And againe, that being priestes of Rome, it was no merueile, though they reconciled them selues to their owne bishop whome they had offended.

For the first, what controuerſie ſo euer they had it maketh no matter. For heretikes they were, and went from the communion of the biſhop of Rome, whether as heade off the church, or their peculier biſhop and Diocelan, I care not. This is that which I entendid here to proue, that they forſoke their heade, and ſo fell into ſchiſmes, oute of the whiche it is impoſſible for any to riſe without they ioynie them ſelues to their heade againe, as theſe did here. And iſſ they were prieſtes of Rome, as I thinke they were not, but ſuche as at that time ſollowed Nouatus in Rome, yea maketh this ſtill thus farre for me, that euery ſchiſme muſt be holpen by returning to the heade, what ſo euer he be. Which is the thing (to make you with often repeating to vnderſtande it) which I ſeek in this place. For I am here in my preface, where euē as in my firſt propoſition it is inough to proue that it is expediēt to haue one heade in Chriſtes church to gouerne the ſame, although I proue it not of the B. of Rome: ſo is it here ſufficiēt to proue that hereſies beginne by forſaking the heade, and that they muſt ende by returning to the ſame, though I name not any heade by name. Although for any thing that hath bene ſaid to the cōtrarie, I might defende, that euen in this place the ſame is proued in the Biſhop of Rome the generall head of all.

That the recantation of Vrfatius and Valens
offred vp to Iulius then pope maketh
much for the Biſhop of Ro-
mes Supremacy.

The 8. Chapitre.

Doth

A DISPROVVE OF M.

M. Nowell
answereth
to that
which no
man obie-
cteth.

Doth not M. Nowell thinke you good readers playe the mery man, bothe with you and me and all the worlde. beside in the handling of this place of *Vrsatius* or *Vrsitas* and *Valens*? First while he maketh me to reason of the titles that these two bishoppes vsed in their libell of recantation, and then solely confuteth my reasons by other, out of Saint Augustin and S. Ciprian, with double epithetons for my sin- gle, whereas I haue no suche one worde. Next in cōcluding the whole matter to recreate your foreweried spirites and to sende euery man to his home in loue and charitie, with a fitte of mirthe. For his musike rewarde you him as you shall see cause, for, for youre sakes it was and not mine. To his answeres to my reasons of the titles of *beatissimus Dominus Papa* the moste blessed lorde pope, or what so euer el- les, I will repleye when that or anie other shall be proued to be mine. In the meane season to this reason off his; *Vrsatius* and *Valens* offred vp their recantation to Athanasius the bishop of Alexandria: *ergo*, This maketh as much for the Supre- macy of Athanasius as it doth of Iulius the Pope, because it ha- the some apparence, I will here make answer. First I saye M. Nowell that the antecedent, that is, that they offered in like maner their recantations to Athanasius is a manifeste lye: then, that if it were true, that yeat the conclusion doth not folowe, and so the reason is faulty. For the first, let *Ni- cephorus* be examined, whome you here alleage in two pla- ces, the 9. booke the 13. and the 27. chapitres. I meane the 27. for in the other chapitre there is no worde of that matter, and so shall it appeare whether you be a lyer or no. *Nice- phorus* hath, that to *Iulius* the B. of Rome they offered li- bellum *pœnitentie*, a libell of their repentance: of *Athanasius* he saieth no more, but onely that after their reconciliation to the pope they wrote lettres to him, signifieng that they were

Nowell.
fol. 13.
b. 22.

Dorman.

1.

A. lyc. 19.

2.

were nowe quieted, and agreed in communion with him whome before they had so cruelly persecuted. Of their recantation, which is vnderstand by the worde *Libellus penitentiae*, he mentioneth no worde at all. But let vs now compare together the wordes, first in the libell offred to the pope, and then in the lettres sent to *Athanasius*. To the pope they saie, *Beatissimo domino papa Iulio Vrsitius & Valens*. To the moste blessed Lorde, pope *Iulius*, *Vrsitius* and *Valens*. To *Athanasius* they write: *Domino fratri Athanasio episcopo, Vrsitius & Valens episcopi*. To oure Lorde and brother *Athanasius*, the bishop, *Vrsitius* and *Valens* bishoppes. I doe not here vrge these wordes as you bring me in at youre pleasure M. Nowell (*To the moste blessed Lorde &c.*) to proue thereby the popes supremacy, but I will here note to the reader in this comparison, the familier kinde of writing to the one, calling him brother, and the reuerent manner of writing to the other, where of reuerence they abstained from that worde. To *Athanasius* they called them selues bishoppes: To *Iulius* they vsed their propre names without all titles. And will yow knowe the cause why? Forsooth whē they wrote to *Iulius*, they knewe them selues to stande at his mercye as men that were oute of the churche, therefore neither durst they call him brother being a catholike bishop and chiefe of all other, neither them selues bishoppes, hauing made them selues vnworthy that name. But as sone as they were pardoned of the pope, in their lettres sent to *Athanasius*, they vsed boldly the titles of brother and bishop. Whereby maye easelie be gathered that it was no recantation that they sent to *Athanasius*. In the recantation offred to *Iulius*, they professe to desire to be in communion with *Athanasius*. This request (saye they to him) we trust you will not denie, *præcipue quum pietas tua*

K

pro

1.
VWhy
Vrsitius
and Valēs
called not
Iulius the
Pope bro-
ther.

2.

A DISPROVFE OF M.

Nicephor.
li. 9. ca. 27.

3.
Note.

4.

Lib. 4. cap.
34.

Lib. 2. ha-
resi. 68.

B. 31.

pro insita sibi integritate gratiā nobis erroris facere est dignata. especially seing that youre godlines according to that naturall vprightnes which is in you, hath pardoned vs allready oure faulte. They adde furder, that if these of the Easte church would wickedly, yea if *Athanasius* him selfe would call them into the lawe touching these matters, that without his consent they would not goe. Finally they abiure *Arrius* the heretike with all his fauours: In the letters to *Athanasius* there is no renouncing of the Arrians heresie: there is no mention of pardon, neither of anie thing elles, but that he might vnderstande that they were nowe reconciled. Whereas if they had contained a recantation, the matters shoulde (no doubt) in as ample maner haue bene specified, as in that to *Iulius* they were. The Tripartite historie saith, that these men offered to *Iulius*, *libellum pœnitentie*, their recantation in writing, and that to *Athanasius*, *miserunt literas, sequē ei deinceps communicare professi sunt*: they sent lettres, and professed that they would communicate with him hereafter. Of all other *Epiphanius* writeth of this matter moste plainly. His wordes are these. *Vrsatius ac Valens vnā cum libellis profecti ad B. Iulium Ro. episcopum pro ratione reddenda de suo errore ac delicto, quod calumnias struxissent papæ Athanasio: At suscipe inquirunt nos ad communitatem ac ad pœnitentiam. Sed & ad ipsum Athanasium iisdem conscriptis confirmationibus vsi sunt propter pœnitentiam*, that is to saie: *Vrsatius* and *Valens* going together with their libelles to *Iulius* the B. of Rome to giue account of their error, and faulte for that that they had gone about to entrappe *Athanasius*: But receiue vs (saie they) to the communion and to penance. Yea and to *Athanasius* him selfe they vsed the same confirmations for penance. Lo M. Nowell one of the places that I of set purpose would

woulde not note, least my fraude might be perceiued in alleaging that which made nothing to the matter. Maketh it not to the matter that these two being bishoppes of the East church, shoulde vpon the forsaking of their heresies take on them so long a iorney, offre them selues to suche daungers by sea and by lande, to their no small costes and charges, to make their submission in writing, which they might haue sente, and auoided all those difficulties by tarieng them selues, (as they did in writing to Athanasius) at home, if the B. of Rome had bene but equall to Athanasius and had had no more to doe in the matter then he? Is it impertinent that they confesse of the pope, that he hath pardoned them their faulte, whereas of Athanasius there is no such worde? Or is it lightly to be esteemed that they promise to doe nothing in those matters of their faith, not at the calling of the bishoppes of the East or Athanasius him selfe, without the popes consent? Is it not to the purpose that they went to the pope to giue an accompt of their errour, and fault committed against Athanasius, that they desired of the pope to be receiued to penance, and wrote to Athanasius for their penance?

Well by this I trust it appeareth, that as I had no cause to cōceale these places, as though (as you saie) I feared lest thereby it would fal out that the world should vnderstand my guile in alleaging that which made not to the purpose: so, that it is you, who in saing that *Vrsatius* and *Valēs* offred vp their recantation aswell to *Athanasius* as to *Iulius*, haue to furdere youre heresie made an impudent lye, and fathered that vpon *Nicephorus* which is not in him, and thought to dor vs and out face vs to with a carde of tē. Beside this I say as I saied before, that if it had bene true, that they had made their recantation to *Athanasius* also, that yeathe conse-

A DISPROVVE OF M.

¶Wherin
the force
of the ex-
ample of
Vrsitius
and Valēs
dothe
consiste.

A twang
of M.No-
welles
harpe.

quent foloweth not, that then the B. of Alexandria shoulde haue bene by this meanes aswell heade of the churche as *Iulius*. For what letteth why the pope might not enioine them after their recantation made at Rome, to make the same againe to the propre bishop of that place where their heresies were moſte notoriouse? Or how is this any diminishing of his auctoritie? The force of this example consisteth in this, that being bishoppes so farre from Rome, they should skippe *Alexandria* and come to *Rome*: why they were reconciled at Rome first, and then in *Alexandria* afterward. So that, what letteth now to conclude as I did: *By this meanes returned they to the church &c.* What letteth me to reply to youre: I toke my harp into my hande and twang quoth my stringe a: *Your stringe is broken betwene youre handes, and where is now youre twang a?* O M. Nowell, when you thought with suche a feely twang of youre harpe as this is, to shift youre hādes of this graue and weighty testimonie, you thought belike withal so to bring all the worlde a slepe with that sweete melodie, or rather as Orpheus is reported by the poetes to haue by the musike of his harpe moued wooddes, mountaines, and rockes, to appease the furye of wilde beastes, so contrarywise by that sweete noise off youres, to make wise men suche tame fooles, by a strange *metamorphosis* so to turne them into blockes and stones, as that they shoulde not be hable to perceiue youre vneuen dealing. Surely in my pore conceite yow littell regarded youre calling, yow muche empaired your name, in answering thus lewdely. Was this deanlike? Was this preacherlike? Was this minister like? Nay truly it was minstrellike.

That the places hetherto alleaged, are not impertinent to the Popes auctoritie.

The.9. Chapter.

Although I haue heretofore in the seuerall defence off euery one of these places, saide so much as maye suffice for the iustifieng of them to be alleaged to the purpose, yea doth youre Rhetoricall repeating of them here, enforce also me to trouble the reader therewith againe. I saye therefore as I did before, that if the going out of the church be by the rebelling of the deacon or prieste against his bishop, as S. Cypria saide in the case of the deacon disobeyeng his bishop *Rogatianus*: if *Pupianus* ought to reconcile him selfe to Cyprian his bishop and metropolitan, that then by this reason of S. Cyprian, muche more ought the going out of the church to be by the Deacon, prieste, or bishoppes rebelling against the Pope the chiefe bishop of al other: muche more ought they to reconcile their selues to him, who is chiefe shepherd of their soules in earthe. If S. Basile spake of the bishoppes in the east church, it is but a sory shift to saye, that his wordes maye not be extendid to all rulers where so euer they be. If *Novatus* sware men to sticke to his heresie, to take him and not *Cornelius* for their bishop, he sware men against the Pope and so do you. If *Maximus*, *Urbanus* and *Sidonius* reconcile them selues to their owne Romaine bishop whome they had vniustly forsaken, yow must doe thelike to him being your bishop (although not so immediately) whome you haue as vniustly forsaken. If *Vrsatius* and *Valens* offred onely their recantations to *Iulius* and not to *Athanasius* as I shewed before, then haue you made a lye, and so bothe this auctoritie and the other are not impertinent but to the purpose.

An answer to suche lyes, scoffes, selaunders, falsified auctorities, and other cancred matter as M.

Nowel in the 25. 26. 27. and 28. leaues, hath powred oute against the Popes.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

The.10.Chapter.

Gen. 9.

Li. 4. ep. 9

Epist. 165.

As I minde not to defende the euill maners of Popes, as neither of temporall princes if any haue gouerned euill, and haue abused perhappes the power giuen to them by God: so will I neither measure their auctoritie by their liues as did the frantike Donatistes, and Anabaptistes doe, neither reueale the turpitude of my father as did wicked Chā, neither iudge my heade as is the maner of heretikes and schismatikes to doe, as witnesseth S. Cyprian, as hath bene said before, applied the to the same sense that it is now. For of this am I suer, that how euil so euer their liues be: how far so euer they abuse the auctoritie giuen to the, yeat shall that nothing *preiudicate the churche, nor burt the innocēt Christians*. If these were my words I cā gesse what were like to be youre answere, but being not myne but S. Augustine his, nor his so, but that they be grounded vpon the wordes of Christe: truly if I were my selfe an heretike, I confesse I knowe no waye to auoide them. The wordes of S. Augustine after that he had reherfed by name, all the popes that were from S. Peter to *Anastasius* time, 39. in nombre, emongest whome. there was he saide no one Donatist to be founde, are these: *In illum autem ordinem episcoporum qui ducitur ab ipso Petro usque ad Anastasium qui nunc eandem cathedram sedet, etiamsi quisquam traditor per illa tempora subrepsisset, nihil praeiudicaret ecclesiae & innocentibus Christianis, quibus Dominus prouidens, ait de praepositis malis, quae dicunt facite, &c. Vt certa sit spes fidelis, quae non in homine sed in domino collocata, nunquam tempestate sacrilegi schismatis dissipetur*, that is to saye. In to this range of bishoppes drawen from Peter him selfe to *Anastasius* which now sitteth in the same seate, althoughe some betrayour had within that compasse crepte in: yeat should

shoulde this nothing haue preiudicate the church and innocent Christians, for whome oure Lorde prouiding sa-
 ieth of euill heades. *Do what they bid yow doe, &c. That
 the hope of the Christian man maye be sure, whiche being groun-
 ded not vpon man but vpon God, can not by wicked schisme be
 scattered.*

Matth. 23.

Note.

This place good Reader, as it maye serue the for a lesson
 to beware how thou rashely iudge of their doinges whome
 God hathe so especially priuileaged: so ought it to be no
 small comfort to all true Christians to thinke, that god
 hath prouided for them suche a heade to direct them here,
 as whose iudgement, what euer his lyfe be, they are
 sure can not be false: and maye withall serue for an answer
 to all suche spottes as M. Nowell here, and other elles whe-
 re (were they all true and muche worse then they speake
 of) haue noted in the popes manners to ouerthrowe their
 auctoritie. Whereby also standeth that proposition of mi-
 ne faulse, ment of thinges concerning his office: *the pope
 commaundeth it, ergo it must be obeyed:* if S. Augustine haue a-
 ny credite with vs: if Christ maye be beleued. Who beside
 the wordes alleaged by S. Augustine, hath giuen vs also an
 other mooste sure staye to grounde oure selues vpon, when
 he assureth vs, that Petres faithe shall not faile, whiche al-
 though it please you M. Nowel in youre swinish eloquen-
 ce, to saye that it pertaineth as muche to the pope as dothe
 a saddell to a sowe, yea was S. Bernard (to alleage him ra-
 ther then anie other, for that youre selfe in this place bring
 him in against the pope, and M. Horne I am credibly en-
 fourmed gaue to him not longe since, in the vniuersitie of
 Oxford suche praise, as that he hath it is supposed not a lit-
 tle enflamed the hartes of diuers young men, to the stu-
 die of that blessed author) of a farre other iudgement
 then

fol. 25. a.
15.

Luce, 22.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

Epist. 190

Luce. 22.

Note.

fol. 25. b.

13.
Lib. 4. ad
Eugen.

then you are. For he writing to Innocētius the pope, after
salutatiōs beginneth his epistle thus. *Oportet ad vestrum re-*
ferri Apostolatum pericula quaque & scandala emergentia in
regno Dei, ea praesertim quae de fide contingunt. Dignum nan-
que arbitror ibi potissimum resarciri damna fidei, (ubi non possit
fides sentire defectū. Hac quippe huius prerogatiua sedis. Cui enim
alteri aliquando dictum est: Ego pro te rogaui Petre ut non de-
ficiat fides tua? Ergo quod sequitur à Petri successore exigitur,
Et tu aliquando conuersus confirma fratres tuos. That is to
saye. All daungers and offences rising in the kingdome of
God must be referred to youre apostleship, those especial-
ly which concerne the faithe. For there doe I thinke it to
be moſte mete that the hurtes of faithe shoulde be redres-
sed, where faithe is sure not to faile. For suche is the prero-
gatiue of this seate. For to what other was it euer saied: *I*
haue praied for the Peter that thy faithe maye not faile? There-
fore that which foloweth is demaunded of Peters successour. And
thow being once conuerted strengthen thy brethern. Hetherto S.
Bernard, against whose learning and life as you can take
no exception: so haue youre selfe clered him of all suspi-
tion of flatterye, by those wordes which so frely and franc-
kly without all dissimulation he vttered to pope *Eugenius.*
Which maketh not a little for his faithe and vprightnesse
in applieng this text as he doth. This you well perceiuing,
either elles to shewe youre selfe learned in the canon La-
wes, attribute rather to Bonifacius the 8. those wordes *Ecce*
duo gladij, then to S. Bernard whole they are in dede vttered
in this sorte. Quid tu denuo usurpare gladium tentes, quem se-
mel iussus es ponere in vaginam. Quem tamen qui tuum negat
non satis mihi videtur attendere verbum domini dicentis sic. Con-
uertere gladium tuum in vaginam. Tuus ergo & ipse: tuo forsitan
nunc etsi non tua manu euaginandus, &c. Why then doest thow
assaye

assaye to vsurpe the sworde which thou wast once bidden to putte
 vp into thy sheate? Which yeat he that denieth to be thine, se-
 meth not to me well to confide the worde of oure Lorde saing:
 put vp thy sworde into thy scabbard. The sworde is therefore thi-
 ne, to be drawen out at thy becke percase, although not by thyn
 owne hands. O therwise if it shoulde haue pertained to the no wa-
 ye, oure Lorde woulde not haue answered to his Apostles saing.
 Beholde here two swordes: it is enough, but he woulde haue an-
 swered, it is to muche. Bothe the swordes therefore belong to the
 churche, the spirituall and the materiall: but this is to be occu-
 pied for the churche, that of the churche. Thus muche S. Ber-
 nard, which wordes notwithstanding I confesse, and those
 other also of the prophete Hieremias: Behold this daye do I
 set the ouer people and kingdomes, Bonifacius modestly appli-
 eth to the churche and ecclesiasticall power, and to the po-
 pe no otherwise but as to the chiefe minstre of this power,
 as appeareth by this conclusion, *Ergo si deuiat terrena pote-
 stas indicabitur a spirituali*. If the earthly power therefore be
 out of the waye it shalbe iudged of the spirituall.

By this it appeareth, that what so euer S. Bernarde hath
 written or spoken against the pompe and abuse of the B. of
 Romes auctoritie, that yeat by his example we are taught
 this lesson, not to cut of oure heade because it aketh. And
 therefore him selfe when he had saide all that you are wont
 to bring against the abuses of the courte of Rome in his ti-
 me, yeat he confessed, that as in heauen angelles and archan-
 gelles, Seraphins and Cherubins are disposed vnder one heade
 which is God: that so here also vnder one high bishop, be prima-
 tes, patriarches, archbishops, bishops, priestes, abbates, with the
 rest in like maner, which head in how manie places of his
 worckes dothe he call the B. of Rome?

L

Yow

Cap. 1.

B. 18.

Cap. viii.
 de maiorib.
 obedi.
 extraneo.
 com.

De confi-
 derat ad
 Eugen. li. 3

A DISPROVVE OF M.

Nowell,
fo. 25. a. 8.

Dorman.

Yow saye that the popes bragge that they haue in the box off their bosoms all scriptures, all interpretation of doctours, &c.

The popes that yow name are Boniface the 8. and Paule the 2. The place of Boniface is you saie *sext. Decreta. lib. 10. tit. 2. cap. licet*. Yow shoulde haue saide *primo*. No greate faulte I confesse if there were either so manie bokes and not onelie fwe, or if yow vsed not so rigorously to note suche scapes in other men youre selfe, laing to their charge that they meane to entangle the readers that their fraude (yow saye) maie not be espied. Whereas surely in you there might be greate cause to thinke no lesse. For what? Doth *Bonifacius* saie in this place that he hathe all the lawes in his brest? No truly doth he not. But he saith that *pontifex Romanus censetur habere*. The B. of Rome is iudged or presumed to haue, although sometimes it maye otherwise happen. I merueile that you remembred not the chapitre beginning *præterea* in the decrees, where the B. of Rome hath, speaking of lawes, that he neuer read any suche thing, except by forgetfulnes he be deceauid, whereby you might haue vnderstode, that some time by the popes owne confesion it maie happen otherwise. But if he had saied as you saie he did, had he done anye otherwise then borrowed a phrase of the emperours *Honorius* and *Theodosius*, who vsed first the same? Whereby is signified, that suche states by reason of their learned councell, which they haue allwaies about them ready to instructe them, are presupposed to haue the lawes ripe in their remembraunce. As for *Paulus* the seconde, I maruell how it happeneth that *Platina* maie be allowed to be a witnes against him, professing in his life so little good will towards him, for the putting him out of his office, seing yow are in the examining of other witnesses so harde. But let it be true that

Plati-

A 17. 21.

Dist. 22.

*L. omnium
C. de testat.*
How, rulers are vnderstande to haue the lawes in their breastes.

A 19.

Platina saith hardely, it maketh to oure purpose neither of nor on.

It is a worthy thing to be reade in Platine you saie, how Gregory the 7. vpon these wordes *what so euer thou dost binde or lose vpon the earthe shall be bounde or losed in heauen* gathereth this reason, that muche more the bishoppes of Rome in earthe maye take awaye and giue empires, kingdomes, principates, and what so euer mortall men haue elles.

Nowell.
b. 26.
Matth. 16.

It is a worthy thing to be noted, howe you continue allwaies like youre selfe, in feeding the reader with vaine matter nothing to the purpose, and alleaging suche places as yow bring otherwise then they are in the Originalls from whence you take them. For loke in Platine once againe, and you shall finde, that the wordes be not so odious as you woulde haue them seme to be. For whereas you affirme them to be spoken of the Pope, Platine hath, that the B. of Rome spake them of Peter and Paule. Howeuer it be, it is no pointe to be reasoned here as being impertinent to oure principall question of one heade, beside that (as I protested in the beginning of this chapitre) if these wordes or anie other like were vntuly or arrogantly spoken, yeat they coulde derogate nothing from the auctoritie otherwise lausfull.

Dorman

Yow care not what you saye, nor how shamefull or sclaunderous youre lies be, so that yow maye satisfie youre cancred hatred against the Pope, as appeareth here by this, that you woulde make men beleue, that Iulius the third caused to be stamped on his coyne, these wordes: *the nation and people that shall not serue me shall perishe*: as though mee of him selfe, whereas you might haue aswell saied that they were to be referred to the monie it selfe, as though all the worlde should be sclaues to monie, and yeat neither of the-

f. 15. b. 27

Hierem. 1.

A DISPROVE OF M.

fe the true meaning of it. But if his coyne had anie suche inscription, as it maye be doubted for anie proufe that yow here auouche M. Nowell to proue it, the meaning was rather this, that that coyne appertaining to the church shoulde beare vpon it that prophecy, whiche was spoken of the church, as a posy moste meetest for that place, specially the maner of that See being, to stampe on the one side of their coyne the image of Petre and Paule.

Nowell.
fo. 26. a. 3.
Dist. 50.
et. s. papa.
Dorman.

The pope maye be blamed of no mā doe he neuer so much hurt you saie. Although the worde from whence yow gather this, be *redarguere*, blame or reprove: yeat the wordes which folowe, conteining the reason of the canon, are, *a nemine est iudicandus*, that is, he is to be iudged of none, and so they doe vs to vnderstand, that laufull and reuerent admonishing the pope of his faultes is not forbidden to his brethern, but as laufull for them to doe now, as it was for S. Paule euer, but only the iudging of him. And except this were the true meaning of the word *redarguere* in this place, surely a homely sence were it to saye. The pope must be blamed of no mā because he cā be iudged of no mā. Your other place alleaged out of the glose yow vnderstode as euill as you did the texte. The texte and the glose bothe speake in that place of the deuiding of certeine churches vnited together: in which thinges shaieth the glose no man maye be so hardye to aske the pope why he dothe so. Because in those thinges that belong to the positue lawe he maye dispense as shall reasonably please him. Thus be the wordes of the glose to be vnderstanden and restrained, which it becommeth yow as handsomly to talke of, as doth a golde ring the groine of a sow. But it is a token that diuinitie goeth lowe with yow, and is at a very ebbe when yow fall to the alleaging of lawe. Remembre the prouerbe M.

Extrane.
Ivan. 22.
cap. fin. de.
Conces.
Prob.

No.

Nowel. *Ne Sutor vltra crepidam.*

Your text, *Principes gentium &c.* Princes of nations beare rule ouer them: but yow shall not so, but he that will be chiefe let him be youre seruant &c. with the rest that folow, taketh not awaye auctoritie to rule from the cleargie, but ambitious and tiranouse ruling, as appeareth by S. Bernard, who alleaging this very text to *Eugenius* the Pope, saith notwithstanding in the same booke: *Habent illi sibi assignatos greges, singuli singulos: tibi vniuersi crediti vni vnus. Nec modo ouium sed & pastorum tu vnus omniū pastor.* They haue their propre flocke assigned vnto the, euery one one: to the being one all are comitted in one, neither only arte thow the only shepherd of the shepe, but of the shepherdes to. The apostles the selues ruled they not because they wer seruants? What maner of seruile flauish seruice yow would haue, the pope brought to I wote not: but S. Paule serued I wote well his maisters so, the Corinthiens, that he asked them whether he should come to the with the rodde. He gaue some of them to the diuell. S. Peter was such a seruant that *Ananias and Sapphira* his wife he punished by death. If yow saie yow denie not this power but speake against the abuse, of that yow harde my minde before, and I thinke all good men be of the same, who praye moste earnestlie (the onely remedye that Christe hath left vs in this case) that suche as abuse the same maye acknowledge the faulte and spedely redresse it. So shall their mouthes be stopped, who when they can saie nothings against the power it selfe, are driuen to picke quarrelles and finde faultes in the ministers thereof,

If you shoulde make a voiage to Rome to the pope, to tell him beside the textes of scriptures that you haue alleaged, which are, *Principes gentium, &c. Nolite vocari. Rabbi, &c. Vos omnes fratres estis. Ne sitis seu dominium exercentes in*

L 3 cleror:

2. 14.
Matth. 20.
Luce. 22.

1. Co. 4.
1. Cor. 5.
1. Ti. 1.
Ab. 5.

A DISPROVE OF M.

Nowell
fol. 27. 4.
b. 7.

Dorman.

a. 22.
Cipr. in cō-
cil. Carth.

Aug. lib. 2.
contra Do-
nat. cap. 2.

cleros: that by the doctours also and councelles he is forbidden to use such tyrannicall power, yow shoulde yow saye profite no more by suche allegations, then by the allegation of the scripture it selfe.

Why you should doe wel to proue it M. Nowel. It is not vnlikely, but that so eloquent a man as you are, and there- to so well practised in the Popes owne gloses, were like su- relye to be admitted to his speache, and to persuaue verye muche. Well you will not putt the matter in trial you saye, fearing lest by that meanes you might be canonized in M. Foxes calendre, and shrined in his dounghill, and therefore you are contented to bring furth your doctours and coun- celles against me, whome yow take I doubt not to be the popes proctour. Your councelles are the councill off Car- thage, and an other whole councill also you saie, although you name no other neither brokē nor whole. Your doctours S. Cyprian and S. Augustine. Whiche councelles and doctours saye thus muche: *Nemo nostrum episcopum se episcoporum con- stituit & c.* None of vs maketh him selfe bishop of bishoppes, or do- the by tyrannicall feare force his fellowes to the necessitie off o- being, seing euery bishop hath according to the licence of his liber- tie, and power, his owne iudgement, as he that can not be iudged of an other, seing that him selfe can not iudge an other. These be the wordes of the councill: these be the wordes of Saint Cyprian and S. Augustine, which serue as muche for your purpose, as doth a rammes horne to make a flight.

For the better declaration whereof it is to be vnderstan- de, that as these wordes were spoken by Saint Ciprian in a prouincial councill that fell into an errour, so was the me- aning of them to auance the opinion of S. Cyprian tou- ching the rebaptising of those that had bene baptised by beretikes, which doctrine is now condemned by the chur- che

che for an heresie. To bring this the better to passe, he telleth them first, that he had receiued lettres from Iubaianus a bishop, who although he were before of a contrary opinion, was now come to his parte. It remaineth (saith he) that euery one of vs (how his minde what he thinketh of this matter, no man iudging an other, or remouing any man from the communion if he thinke other wise then he doth. For none of vs maketh him selfe the bishop of bishoppes, and so furthe with gentle wordes the rather to winne them to his opinion, and to assure the that they maye be bolde to saye their mindes, seing that euery one of them had (he saide) licence to vse the iudgement of his libertie and power. Which worde (*pro licentia*) yow guilefully lefte oute of youre translation, shewing youre selfe thereby to be no simple translatour, but a crafty falsifier. Now if they had licence in that councell of theirs euery man to saie frelye his minde, if S. Cyprian saide that notwithstanding he was their archebishop, and bishop off them all, yeat for the present time he did renounce that auctoritie (as in this sense his wordes are to be taken) what maketh that against the auctoritie of the B. of Rome? Dothe not the B. of Rome saye asmuch to all his fellow bishoppes in all general councelles? Had not you the same offer made vnto you in the laste councell of Trent, to haue bene quietly harde, and no man by tirannie to haue bene compelled to the necessitie of obeing?

If this answer satisfie you not, let S. Augustine teache you the true vnderstanding of this place. Who expounding these wordes of S. Cyprian, Seing euery bishop hath according to the licence &c. against the Donatistes, writeth thus: *Opinor utique in his questionibus qua nondum eliquatissima perspectione discussa sunt. Nouerat enim quantam sacramenti profunditatem tunc omnis ecclesia varia disputatione versabat, liberum*

que

M. Nowel
mangleth
S. Ciprian.

*In saluo cō-
ditiō cōci-
lij Trident.*

*August. li. 2
3. ca. 3. cō-
tra Donat.*

S. Cyprian
expounded
by S. Au-
gustine.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

que faciebat querendi arbitrium, ut examinata veritas pande-
retur. I thinke verilie (that is to saie) that S. Cyprian mea-
 nieth in those questions, which be not yeat by manifest ex-
 amination discuffed. For he knewe what a depe misterie it
 was that was then tossed in the whole church, with ambi-
 guouse disputations, and made it free for euery one to sear-
 che and enquire, that the truthe being examined might be
 reuealed. Thus you see M. Nowell, that youre falsehoode
 in leauing out in youre translation the worde (*pro licentia*)
 wil not helpe you, S. Augustine by this worde (*liberum facie-*
bat) he gaue them licence, expounding the meaning of S.
 Ciprian, and telling vs beside, that this place of bishoppes
 libertie whereby euerie one maye thinke what he will and
 can be iudged of no other, is *while thinges be not decided but*
remaine in doubtre. And therefore if you haue no other do-
 ctours or councelles to present to the pope but these, yow
 did like a wise man to tarie at home.

VWherein
 one bis-
 shop can
 not be iud-
 ged of an
 other.

fol. 17.
 ch. 7.

A lye. 22.

That you saie, that neither the texte of the scriptures, nor the
 interpretation of doctours, nor iudgementes of councelles can
 haue any credite against the pope, and bring Pighius to proue it,
 that is a manifest lye. For when Pighius saith that for the
 moste parte there is nothing done in generall councelles,
 but that the bishoppes comming together giue their con-
 sent to that which the Apostolike See decreed before, he sa-
 ieth not that it is so allwaies, that it can be no otherwise?
 As though the time of deliberation during the Apostolike
 See vpon the reasons of the councill might not be moued
 to decree that which otherwise it hath not determined: he
 saith not that against the pope neither the texte of the scriptu-
 res, nor the interpretation of doctours, nor iudgementes of coun-
 celled can haue any credite. And therefore moste impudent-
 ly (againe I tell yow) yow haue belyed Pighius. The
 councill

b. 24.

councell is no councell if it lacke the auctoritie of the heade the B. of Rome. And therefore you haue Pighius at no such aduantage, because he saith that the onely iudgement of the See of Rome is more sure then the iudgement of an vniuersall councell of the whole worlde. which if it be true then were it (you saye) for bishoppes to come to councelles a vaine thing. Not so M. Nowell: For although before God and with good men, the iudgement arrested vpon by the see of Rome be certainly true and can not deceiue, yea because men ignorant in the scriptures and lawes of the church: some of the sometimes, because heretikes for the representing of whome councelles be most commonly called, for the moste parte be not thus persuaded, the pope vseth to communicate with the generall councell concerning decrees to be made. The which being with generall consent approved and confirmed by the pope, bothe the weake or vnlearned catholike maie be fully persuaded, and the stubborne heretike with his owne weightes quite ouerweighed: while bothe to the one and the other suche vniforme consent, can not but argue the merueilouse grace and assistance off the holie gost. An other cause maie be, for that the pope by this meanes will be certified by the bishoppes off euery cuntry, what circumstances, what maners of people in eache place, maie require the decrees according to the nature of diuerse diseases, to be losed slacke or streined harder. For although he be so priuileaged that in making lawes for the church he can not erre, yea hath he not the spirit of prophecie to knowe being absent all the offenses and imperfections in the church. Beside this where as otherwise it might euer be doubted whether the pope made any suche decrees or no in places farre distant from Rome, hereby all suche occasion is taken awaie, the bishoppes off

M

euery

No generall councell without a head

VVhy councelles be called.

1.

2.

3.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

every countrie being present, who be able to make faith hereof to their subiectes. Last of all this calling together of councilles is not in vaine, while Christian princes being present and hearing all thinges debated, promise the rather their assistance for the execution of suche thinges as shalbe concluded. And thus is this pelting obiection of youres answered. Now to the next.

Nowell.
fo. 28. a. 7.

Pighius (yow saye) teacheth that to the see of Rome the ordering, defining, and determining of all questions and controuersies is given by Christe &c. And the same dothe M. Dorman to teache in the 62. leafe b. out off pope Innocentius epistle.

Dorman.

Apud August. epist.
90. 91. 92
93.

That which I haue there affirmed, I haue by the auctoritie not of Innocentius alone (which yeat to a me reasonable man might seme inough, considering that they were no babes to whome he wrote) but euen by the auctoritie also of those fathers of the two councilles of Carthage and Milente, especially of S. Austen, expressly affirming that he answered them to all their questions euen as was right and for the bishop of the apostolicall See meere, sufficiently proued. Answered yow to it when yow shall be hable. In the meane season it is true that I saide, that the auctoritie of the B. of Rome is the foundation of all true religion, the comfort and staye of the catholikes &c. Against the whiche fewe wordes couched in lesse room then five lynes, yow haue not in fower leaues and more, brought truly so muche as one worde, but in the whole processe plaing the ape in mocking, mowing, and tosing of suche graue auctorities as maie serue for the confirmation thereof, yow haue not impugned my proposition but scoffingly confirmed it. Which maner of answering how it is to be liked, I praye (the discrete reader) to iudge.

Of the necessitie of one heade in
Christes church.

M

The

The ii. chapitre.

When I minded to handle in writing the preeminence and superioritie of the B. of Rome ouer Christes vniuersall and catholike church, and considered first that the scripture it selfe, then the fathers and councelles: finally the examples of the prinitive church alowed the same: I laied for a fundation to builde vpon, that there must nedes be one heade in Christes church to gouerne it. Not as though if to the wisdom of him who dothe in his wisdom all thinges it had so semed, the gouernement of Aristocratie, that is to saie, *off the best and wisest men* might not haue bene preferred by him which is Lorde ouer nature before the rule of Monarchie, that is of one alone, whiche is moste agreable to nature. And for this cause I saied that of necessitie it must so be. Which necessitie if I had not bene able to proue (as the contrarie shall hereafter appeare, by that, that you keping youre selfe to the title of youre boke haue onely reprobued and not disprobued any one reason off myne) yeat must all men off necessitie nedes confesse, that seing Christ committed in the scriptures the whole charge of his church to only Peter, giuing him autoritie to feede al, Lābes, and shepe: seing that the fathers with such cōformitie confesse the same of Peter and his successors, as namely to omit other, because I haue handled this matter elles where, and this is not the place propre therefore, Chrysostome, who saith that Christ committed the whole charge of all to Peter, and his successors: nedes I saie must all me acknowledge, the necessitie of that one heade which by suche good proufes they see confirmed, although I nor any man elles were able to proue the same by reason. To make the matter more clere by example: the church of

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Ioh. 21.

Homil. in
Mat. h. 55
et li. 2. de
Sacerdot.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

Christe holdeth that oure blessed ladye was a perpetuall virgin, aswell after the byrth of Christe as before: Eluidius the heretike holdeth the contrarie. If I now to ouerthrowe Eluidius, shoulde first place this proposition for my foundation to builde vpon against him: *That of necessitie that womā what so euer she were, of whom the Saviour of the worlde should take fleshe, ought as wel to be preserved pure (that that place might not be defiled through which Christ him self had passed) after her bringing furthe, as before it was preserved from being contaminated because he should passe through:* if this proposition were not proued or coulde not by reason or scriptures be proued, woulde yow then that Eluidius shoulde go from the receiued faith of the churche, and saye there neded no further battery or vndermining to be made, to ouerthrow that which is manifestly proued in the persone off oure lady by the faith of the churche (as the matter is here in the personne of the pope) What if disputing against a Iewe or infidell that woulde denie that Christ suffred death for the synnes of the world, I should laye for the foundation, this saing of the gospel, *Oportebat Christum pati &c.* If I wer not able to proue this necessitie because goddes omnipotent power might by other meanes haue wrought our saluation, doth it by and by folowe, that the infidell hath proued his purpose, that Christ did not suffer death for vs? I wright not this as though I mistrusted the prouing off this proposition of mine, *that there must be one heade &c.* but to encountre with you who beinge comen but thus farre, beganne to repent yow of the long iourney that yow had to make, and therefore to abridge the same, thought here to make the reader beleue that it shoulde be nedelesse to goe so farre as to Rome to the Popes owne sight, that so youre shunning of the matter might seme to

Luc. 24.

come of politike foresight, not of dastardly cowardnesse.

I saide that the state of goddes people in the olde lawe, and experience of ciuile gouernement did proue the necessitie of one heade. Yow answered: that as goddes people in the olde law were one feuerall people and had one high priest, so that no further can be gathered thereof, but that likewise in euery diocesse or countrie it were good to haue one chiefe bishop to rule in the cleargie.

Nowell
Fol. 29. a.
23.

Oh M. Nowell, think you thus to ouerbear youre pore neighbours? You must remembre, yow must remembre, that you fight against truthe, that will not so be outfaced. You must remembre, that when we talke of the Iewes as of the people of God, we doe not in that point reckon them as one feuerall people. They were in dede feuerall, in respect of other natiōs which had forsakē God, but neuer in such sorte feuerall, as though the whole church of god were not vnder the gouernemēt of their lawe and chiefe priest. They were therefore a figure, not onelie of one diocesse or one countrie, but of the whole church that now is, and made the church that then was. And so the example holdeth still.

Dorman.

You make my reason taken frō the exāples of kingdomes, societies, families, etc. and applied by force of greater reason to the church, to come from S. Cyprian to Pighius, to D. Harding and so to me. The more that haue it the gladder I am. But I pray you what is this to the purpose. whose it be, except yow doe this to shewe youre selfe to be a man of greater reading, and ignorant neither in the olde writers nor in those of latter time. What so euer yow make of me, or how so euer it please you to take me: I am not iwisse so verie a dolt but I could haue made this reason euen by the experience of those things which runne dailie into myne eyes, and neuer haue lo-

fol. 30. a.
24.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

ked either in S. Cyprian or Pighius, or borrowed it off D. Harding, and had not youre memorie failed you, you could haue saide youre selfe, that I tolde yow that experience was the thing that moued me to saye it.

Whose argument or reason so euer it be blinde yow saie it is. That let indifferent eyes trye M. Nowell. I reason thus: *Euery kingdome hath his seuerall king: euery people, citie, towne village, house and so furthe, haue their seuerall head or gouernour. ergo: the whole church which is but one, diuided into many mem-*
bres (as saith S. Cyprian) must haue one heade as wel as hath one
kingdome, one people, one citie, &c. Now what faulte finde you with this reason, I praie you that see so clerely, and haue euē youre eies as a man woulde saie in youre handes? Forsothe I should haue concluded with S. Cyprian (yow saye) *ergo*, in likewise euerye diocesse, and euery church ought to haue their seuerall heade prelate or bishop. I toke not my reason oute off S. Cyprian, and therefore I folowe not his conclusiō. What so euer it be my reason is, that the whole church disperfed through the whole worlde, is as truly one kingdome of heauen, one societie, one body, as any other company throughe oute the worlde is one, be it greate or litle. Therefore if I had concluded as S. Cyprian dothe, vpon your graunting the same to be true (as here you saye you woulde haue done) that euerye diocesse and particuler church nedeth a heade, it woulde well haue folowed spite of youre bearde, ergo, in the whole church being also one, is more nede of one heade. These cōclusions of S. Cipriās and mine be not cōtrary but stande wel together. Euē as if one should inferre in our countrie vpon suche a proposition as is this of S. Cyprians: ergo, euery citie, euery shiere hath nede of a heade to gouerne it, and then vpon that againe: ergo the whole realme it selfe containing all these cities and shieres hathe
much

Li. 4 ep. 2.

b. 11.

much more nede of one heade to gouerne that. And yea
 yow (so shamelesse you are) saye, that S. Cyprian hath the cle-
 ane contrarie to this conclusion, saing thus: *Singulis pastoribus,*
&c. that is. *To euery pastour is a portion of our lordes flocke ap-*
pointed, the whiche euery one ought to rule and gouerne, who shall
giue accompt of his doing to oure Lorde. This place (you saye)
 maketh plainly againste the supremacy off one. These wordes
 conuince you plainly of a lye. This place if you knowe
 not how to vnderstand it, be not ashamed to learne of S.
 Bernarde, of whome you disdaine not to learne matter to
 reprove the maners of the bishoppes of Rome, when yow
 thinke he maye serue you to that effect. He telleth vs spea-
 king to pope *Eugenius: Habent illi sibi assignatos greges: sin-*
guli singulos: tibi vniuersi crediti, vni vnus, that is to saie: They
 haue also (he meaneth the other bishoppes of the church)
 euery one their seuerall flockes assigned vnto them: to the
 being one all are committed in one. Lo M. Nowell S. Ber-
 nard telleth you, whome youre selfe bothe alleage for you-
 re purpose, and to whome you giue the title of a blessed sa-
 inct, that this reason of youre is not good: Euerye pastour
 hath a portion off Christes flocke allotted out to him to gouerne:
Ergo, there is no one heade ouer all. For by this meanes if su-
 che collections might be allowed, aswell might euery par-
 son and vicair because he hath also a portion of the flocke
 committed to his charge by him selfe, be discharged from
 the obedience of his bishop, as maye the bishoppes from
 the gouernement of one chiefe heade. The maior, bailif
 or other officier of anie the Quenes good townes in En-
 gland, hath a portion of the realme committed to his char-
 ge to gouerne: will youre wisdomer serue you M. Nowell
 to conclude vpon this, that therefore there is no one in
 oure saide countrie, who hath the supremacie ouer all?

This

b. 21.

Lib. 1. epi.
fol. 3.

A lye 22.

S. Cypria
expounded
by S. Ber-
nard.Lib. 2. ad
Eugen.

A DISPROVE OF M.

fol. 30. b.
30.

This is S. Cyprian his reason, this is (you saie) his conclusion. You beelye S. Cyprian M. Nowel: he neither reasoneth nor concludeth against the supremacy of one, as I trust I haue made euident. You might rather thinke that he who was for euery portion so hofull, woulde be no lesse carefull to prouide for the whole, where was more daunger and cause of feare. For that you reason after youre maner negatiuely, that neither S. Cyprian nor any other learned man doth vse these examples or similitudes any where, to proue that there ought to be one heade or gouernour ouer the vniuersall church: that reason sheweth it selfe from whence it cometh. Will you now as you haue taught vs a newe kinde of diuinitie, so teache vs also a newe waye of reasoning? Yea will you teache the learned Lawiers and graue iudges off the realme neuer to decide case but suche as they shall finde recorded in their yeare booke in the same termes? Shall it not be laufull for them by youre depe diuinitie, whereas it is impossible so to conceiue lawes that all cases maye be expressely comprehendid, when suche a case shall happen, to procede therein by the iudgement giuen in other cases, where although the case be diuerse the reason is one? If youre discretion will serue you to alowe this kinde of reasoning in the lawe, whiche is nothing elles but altogether reason: why take you then suche holde of this, that S. Cyprian did not in termes, that is to saye in the selfe same case of one heade ouer the vniuersall church, applye these examples, seing that as I proued before, S. Cyprians reason is one in bothe the cases, yea greater and of more force in the case of one heade ouer the whole church, then of one ouer euery particuler church.

fol. 30. b.
31.

Because M. Nowell thinketh as the truthe is, that this conclusion, *that there ought to be one generall heade ouer all churches*

churches liketh me well, and yeat that I haue handled it but ill: it pleaseth him here of an extraordinarye liberalitie for the pitie that he taketh vpon me, to playe once againe the scholemaster in his olde dayes, and now because I am past my Grammer to teache me logike. I shoulde haue reasoned thus my maister saith: There is one generall king ouer al the worlde, one generall heade ouer all people &c. Therefore there must be one generall heade ouer all the church.

Nowell,
fo. 31. a. 2.

My maister plaieth here with me, as S. Thomas More writeth that a poet of Cambridge did once with his boye whome (plaing with him being a yong Sophister on a time for his pleasure) he offred to proue an asse: which when the boye denied, well quoth the poet thow wilt graunte me this first, that euery thing that hath two eares is an asse. Nay mary maister will I not quoth the boye. No wilt thow quoth the poete? Ah wyly boye there thow wentest beyond me. For and thow wouldest haue graunted me that, I woulde haue proued the an asse anon. Mary maister quoth the boye ye might well, and so might euery foole too. Well quoth the poet I will goe now an other waye to worcke with the. Thow wilt graunt me that euerie asse hath two eares. Naye marie will I not maister quoth the boye. Why so boye quoth he. Mary maister quoth he, some asse maie happē to haue neuer a one, for they maie be cut of bothe. Naye then quoth the poet I giue the ouer, thow arte to frowarde a boye for me. Woulde not yow now M. Nowell make me here to reason as pleaseth you, as the poet woulde haue made his boye to answer? But how little nede I haue of youre helpe (God I thanke therefore) to frame this reason to my purpose, the argument made before will speake though I holde my peace. In the meane season this of yours might haue some probabilitie, if as

Dorman.

N

Chri-

A DISPROVE OF M.

Christe hath appointed one church: so God had assigned one kingdome in the whole worlde. But seing that from the time the tongues were disperfed in Babilon, many feuerall companies of men, and not long after many feuerall nations: and consequently manie feuerall heades were so appointed by God, that whether it were for the paine of sinne, or elles to haue the partes of the earthe more quickly inhabited, ones they were not one of them bounde to be vnder the other, nor all to be vnder one heade in earthe (whereas on the other side Christ came to gather together the disperfed of Israel in to one bodye, one kingdome, one folde, and all the churches in the worlde be reduced accordingly to one church, which can not be saide of all the kingdomes) for you now to requier no more one heade in the church, then there is one king in the worlde, it is suche a kinde of argument, as I thinke beside youre selfe it woulde haue bene harde to haue founde one other so foolish that woulde haue made it.

Gen. 11.

Psal. 146.

fol. 31. a. 15

What D. Harding saith out of Homere or Aristotle it maketh no matter to me, albeit it proueth tierye. well that those Gentiles sawe, that the gouernement of one bodye belongeth to one heade. And therefore if they had bene as yettill perswaded then, that the whole worlde is but one kingdome, as you are that the church is but one bodie, as they woulde of all likelihod haue concluded that it had not bene good to haue manie rulers: so liuing now and being perswaded the like of the church, it is not to be doubted but that they woulde haue bene touching the same off the same opinion. As for that that you adde scoffingly to deface it, that it is M. D. Hardinge his poetick argument for the popes supremacie. I praie you be good M. Nowell to poetes, of whome you saour so muche in youre sermones and writin-

writinges, and who the time hath bene, were the fairest floure in youre garland. Otherwise you will giue men occasion bothe to thinke and to saie, that the olde prouerbe istruer in you, that the parishe prieste remembreth not that once he was parishe clerke. But I praie you maye it be lafull for you to folowe poetes in lieng as you doe, and maie not other men alleage for their purpose, one graue sentence of a poete: yea all were it so that it were directly to proue the popes supremacie as this is not so brought in? If it be so, then I coffe also hardely at S. Paule, who to proue the omnipotent power of God, alleaged the sentence of the poete Aratus, not so famouse iwisse as Homere is.

Aristotle misliketh not the gouernement of the best and wisest, yea preferreth he *Monarchie*, the gouernement that is to saie, of one alone, before *Aristocratie*. Euen so doe bothe D. Harding and I, And therefore to saie that I am in this point against bothe my maister (for so you call D. Harding and I will be alwaies readie to confesse no lesse, so long as it shall please him not to be ashamed of suche a scholer) and Aristotle so noble a philosopher, I can call it no better but a verie lye.

You saie that the gouernement of the vniuersall church consisting of so many or rather innumerable thousandes of men and women, of all countries, nations, and languages, can not possibly be ruled by one, neither was by God appointed to be so gouerned.

What God hath appointed I showed in the article of the popes supremacie, whereunto you durst not approche, and this will be bolde to saie thereof in this place, that *Monarchie* being as youre selfe can not denie of all other the noblest kinde of gouernement, it is likely that Christe would prouide the same for his spouse the church in the which

Ab. 17.

fol. 31. b. 1.

A lye. 23.

Nowell
b. 5.

Dorman.

Not impossible
to gouerne the
church by
one.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

ling especially vnitie and concorde, and commaunding nothing more, it foloweth, that he woulde binde it in one with that bande wirhout the which it coulde not either at all be had, or not so commodiously had. As for the possibilitie, I praye the gentle reader confidre with thy selfe what preachers and maisters thou hast, who are nowe so malepart with God, that beside that whiche their peuishe heades shall like to fantasie, they will allowe him to be hable to doe nothinge.

Thus in oure present question doth M. Nowell, hauing so muche at the length prouffited by teaching in the schole, that he dareth now take vpon him to set God him selfe to schole, and to tell him plainly that this ordre of his appointing in the churche one heade, is suche, as by no meanes possible can stande. Thinkest thou not good Reader that he mistrusted all other proufes when he fleeth to this sorye shift? Yes verelie doth he. For as in the matter of the sacrament verie nede driueth them to this miserable refuge: so persuaide thy selfe that it standeth with them here.

Esai. 30.
19.

But noweto yow M. Nowell: is the arme of God shroncken or shorter then it was wont to be thinke you? Can not he that appointeth one sonne to giue light to the whole worlde, he that by diuerse riuers, streames and brookes, dispersed thorough the partes of all the earth, maketh one body of the elementes of water, bothe to come from one heade the sea, and to returne to the same againe: he that of so manie contrarie and disagreing qualities, as heate, colde, moisture, droughth, maketh one well agreeing worlde: is not he M. Nowell possibly able to rule and gouerne his church dispersed through all the earthe by one chiefe and supreme heade? Especially sith one prince or Monarche, as namely

A. Bue-

A *fluens* being him selfe an infidell, was able to gouerne from *India* to *Aethiopia*, a hundred twentie and seven prouinces. The which as he gouerned by capitaines and vnderofficers, after the example of Moyses, who being not able to beare the burden of ruling the whole people alone, did it notwithstanding with much facilitie by the helpe of suche rulers, as he called to parte of his charge, which were capitaines or heades, some ouer thousandes, some ouer hundreds, other some of fifty, yea of ten, so the pope gouerning the whole church, by patriarches, primates, archebishops, bishops, Archedeacons, Archepriests and priests, euery one in their degree, with grace in him for that purpose by the working of God sufficiently multiplied, is right well able to rule and gouerne the church were it greater then it is. And this al wise man, and such as yealde to the omnipotency of God, see to be so farre from all impossibilitie, that some one perhappes moued with iust indignation against youre blasphemouse reasoning, is likely inough to tell you, that I maie iustlier saie to you, that suche talke proceedeth not so muche from the absurditie of the matter, as it dothe from the disposition of youre noddies. nowle M. Nowell, and fight not dimme but altogether blinde, then you doe to me affirming the contrarie, that it maye seme to some that suche kinde of speache springeth not so muche out of the absurditie of the matter, as out of the disposition off my drowfy head.

* It foloweth, that schismes and troubles rising in the church maye by the seuerall bishops of euerie diocesse, and seuerall chiefe prelates of euerie prouince aswell be auoided and appeased, as the seuerall kinges of euerie kingdome, the seuerall gouernours of euerie countrie and citie &c. are able to ouersee their seuerall charges and to kepe their people in ciuile ordre and peace:

Not so M. Nowell, the reason of difference betwe these

Hester. c. 1.

Exod. 18.

b. 13.
Nowell.
Fo. 32. a. 6.
* Note
that
M. Nowell
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to bishop-
pes the or-
dre of re-
ligion, to
kinges
and o-
ther go-
uernours
the procu-
ring of
ciuile or-
dre and
peace.
Dorman.

The difference
betwene
the two
states of
the world
and the
church.

12
A DISPROVE OF M.

two states of ecclesiasticall and temporall gouernement is greate. For in the one, that is in that which pertaineth to the worlde, euery kingdom, euery nation, euery people haue their propre and seuerall lawes: yea often times not diuerse onely but contrarie the one to the other. This bredeth no disorder because they be diuerse bodies. But to come to the church which as it is one, so hath it by Christ one faith, the same lawes, the same sacramentes deliuered to be comon to all that wilbe membres thereof, without varietie in matters of substance: here what nede is thereof one head, that this one faith may be of all me and euery where inuolably holden? Seing that euen in kingdomes and common wealthes daily experience telleth vs, that how well and quietly so euer such kinges and rulers gouerne their subiectes, them selues they be not yea hable so to gouerne (while I proude and thou proude eche one thinketh him selfe as good as the other) that they can absteine from mortal and cruel battaile, wherby their innocent people perishe ful ofte on both sides most miserably. If this be so emogest worldly kinges, where the dissenting of their lawes and ordonauces the one from the other, is no breach of amitie: how much more is it to be feared emongest bishoppes, where one faith must be comon in all, where vnitie maye be so lightly broken? Which if it happen, howe shoulde it be suppressed? The debates and quarelles of princes are tried for moste parte by battaile. Will you that in this case eache bishop make his freedes and trie the matter by most voices. The chiefe prelates (you saie) of euery prouince are able to take ordre in the matter. What M. Nowell is the winde in that dore? Haue yow so soddenly founde a superioritie in bishoppes, that so lately before pronounced, that as no man hathe anye Superioritie in baptisme or in faith aboue other truly faithfull and baptised: so no

so no one bissshop hath any Superioritie ouer other bissoppes? Is it nowe at the length founde out, that you mistooke S. Cyprian, when in the 22. leafe of youre booke, you grounded vpon him, that there was no difference of dignitie amongest bissoppes? Maye yow not be ashamed in this verie leafe, firste to saie that there be chiefe prelates in euery prouince, and yeat after in the seconde side of the same leafe, to affirme by the auctoritie of S. Ciprian wrongly construed, that none but naughty and desperate men doe thinke the auctoritie off some bissoppes to be inferiour to other? Will you nedes be of the nombre of those naughty and desperate men? Well M. Nowell, as verie necessitie forced yow to go from that principle of yores, that all bissoppes be of equall auctoritie, because otherwise you sawe that schismes coulde not possibly be kepte oute of particuler churches: so shall I trust the same, before yow and I haue ended, force you to acknowledge a chiefe prelate ouer the whole and vniuersall chnrche for the appeasing of schismes therein. In this point because the verie necessitie of one heade to gouerne Christes chnrche dothe specially consist: I shall desire the learned reader to vse good circumspection, and with aduised deliberation to waye with him selfe the reasons brought on bothe sides. I obiekt therefore to M. Nowell, that for the appeasing of schismes, and restoring the church being troubled to quietnes, *it is necessary that there be one chiefe heade*. He maketh me answer as you heard before, that the seuerall chiefe prelates of enery prouince are as well able to take ordre therfore, as the seuerall gouernours of enery countrie for their seuerall charges. The absurditie of this answer shall appeare by a demonstration. There is nowe a controuerfie in their newe chnrche of Englande about no small matter, but concerning the reall presence of Christes blessed

M. Nowell
contrary
to him selfe
in one
leafe.

An absur-
de doctri-
ne that
schismes
may as
well be ap-
peased by
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ades as
by one.

sed bodie in the sacrament: M. Gest preaching at Rochester for the reall presence, M. Grindall at London for the contrary. Shall these two prelates be tried by M. D. Parkar of Cauntorbury suspected to be a Lutheran? Although that I thinke M. Nowel would be lothe to graunte being him selfe a Calvinist, yea if he did, and the matter were thoroughly decided on the one side: might not the like schisme arise in the prouince of Yorke, and bachiler Yong there calling his brethern together determine the cōtrouersy on the other side? If this shoulde happen (as it easely might) in this equalitie of power betwene these two in these seuerall prouinces, how should the schisme be appeased? They wolde perhappes procure a parliament to be called, that by auctoritie thereof the matter might be determined. Were the bishoppes that coulde not agree before, like the sooner to forsake their cōtentious mindes by this meanes? Or should the matter be put only to the debating of the laitie? Or howe euer it were, the matter being brought thither, and then the ordre of the house being suche, that it must passe as well through the lower house as the higher, might not the house be equally diuided, or the thinge brought to so narrowe a pointe, that the conclusion of this weightie cōtrouersie might depende vpon the mouthe of some simple burgoise and meane artificer, who might easely by lacke of iudgement choose the worse part? Or if they all agreed vpon the truth, might not the like cōtrouersie, arise in Fraunce, Germanie, Spaine, or in some other cōuntry, and euery one determine euer in this article, or any lyke, contrary to the other? If they did, as by the confesion of Augspurg, and their communion booke allowed by the parliament of Englands, the one so muche disagreeing with the other it appeareth they doe, shoulde not the church in this case be miserably
sha-

shaken notwithstanding the labour of the chiefe prelates of euery prouince? Now to come to princes, and tēporall gouernours, if they haue as many seuerall or contrary lawes as their be seuerall countries or nations, cōcerning the keping of their people in ciuile ordre and peace, what breache off vnitie? What hurte? What disordre in the worlde will followe hereof I praye yow? So that to haue made this reason of youres probable, you shoulde thus haue reasoned. As in the whole worlde there is nō disordre, because seuerall princes haue seuerall and contrary lawes: so in the church will there be also none, if diuerse bishoppes teache diuerse and contrary faithes. But as no man is so blinde but he seeth the falsehode of this comparison: so is no man I truste so voide of wit but that he seeth this to be as true, as that which you made before.

Thus by reason we finde, that schismes can not be appeased without one heade in the church, to whome the greater causes ought to be referred, whome the rest ought to credite and obeye. To the which heade because he is by Christes owne mouthe so priuileaged in Peters faith, that as he neuer yeat deliuered to the church any erronious doctrine to be beleued, but hathe allwaies continued the faith receiued from the Apostles, so are we suer that he neuer shall: we ought and maye in matters of faith giue full and assured credite. As by S. Austen we be counceled, who to this purpose bringeth this saing of the ghospell: *Quæ dicunt facite &c.* Doe what they bidde you doe, and addeth for the reason, *that in so doing, oure faith being moste certaine, as being grounded not vpon man but vpon goddes promise, can neuer be scattered by the tempest of anie schisme.* This being most true, we maie boldely conclude, that this state of Monarchie, that is of gouerning the church by one heade, as it is

O

moste

Epist. 165.
Matth. 23.

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moste necessarie, so because we are suer that this one heade can not giue wrong iudgement in matters of faithe, it is of all other for the church the moste conuenient, as being the verie best. For in this pointe doe all men agree, euen the moste aduersaries to this state, that if one Monarche were suer allwaies to gouerne well, that then that state off gouernement were to be preferred before all other.

To all this that hath bene saide maye be added, that if you will nedes haue the seuerall diocesses and churches off euerie bishoprike to be like seueral kingdomes, then as there is no only kingdome in earthe: so by you it shoulde folowe that there is no one only church in earthe. Or if it may be enough for the church in earthe to be one body because Christe in heauen is the one heade thereof: why maie not then the kingdomes of the earthe be in earthe one, because Christe in heauen is the king of them also? This being not I thinke vnknown vnto you, howe vneuen this comparison of youres was made, yow will nowe leauing youre reason, trie the matter by auctoritie.

Nowell.
fo. 32. a. 30

S. Cyprian (yow saie) dothe most plainely teache that it is right and reason, that seuerall bishoppes haue the gouernment of seuerall diocesses, euen for the same cause for the which I (yow saye) doe vntruly alleage the necessitie of one heade.

Dorman.
Lib. 1.
Epist. 3.

To the place of S. Cyprian beginning: *Cum statutum sit omnibus nobis &c.* I answere: that it is right and reason that seuerall bishoppes haue the gouernement of seuerall diocesses, and that to appease schismes and correcte vices, as often as these thinges maie be in suche seuerall diocesses commodiously done. But that this maie be allwaies perfourmed in particuler bishoprikes, and that if it can not, recourse maie not be had to higher power, that yow shoulde haue proued, and that S. Cyprian hath not. Therefore this place

place maketh not against the auctoritie of one heade. But you force it further and saie.

S. Cyprian affirmeth all suche appellations from a bishop off one countrey to a bishop of an other countrey to be vnlauffull, for that, that all bishoppes of all countreys be of like auctoritie, and that none but naughtie and desperate men doe thinke the auctoritie of some bishoppes to be inferiour to the auctoritie of other.

Nowell,

S Cyprian affirmeth not here that all appellations from one bishop to an other be vnlauffull. He saith that it is reason and hath bene ordeined amongst them, that the subiectes of euery bishop haue their causes hearde, there where the faulte was committed. And maye not the B. of Rome doe this by sending his legates in all such cases of appeale to the places where the offences were committed, there to examine the processe, to receiue witnes, to determine the matter? Beside this, if S. Cyprian had in this place vtterly forbidden all maner of appeales to Rome: yea by the phraze of his wordes it appeareth, that it *was decreed amongst them* by a locall statute of their owne, for the better maintenaunce of brothrely concorde. Which as it extēded no fardre then to that place: so if anie of them that once agreed to that ordre, refuse at anie time to obey it, although it ought to be a barre to him that once gaue his consent to the cōtrary, yea is it none to the pope, why he maie not procede in the cause (who neuer renounced his right) if it be appealed to him. The like to this is to be seene in the colleges of oure vniuersities, where the founders in most places haue ordeined by their statutes, that the membres of such colleges for the better reteining and vpholding of quiet and brotherly agreement amongst them, shall propose suche quarelles and contentions as happen amongst them to the seuerall heades of suche colleges. This ordre thus ta-

Dorman,

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ken right and reason woulde haue kepte, but if some forward body not contented with this, will complaine further to the chauncelor of the vniuersitie or chiefe patron of his college, he may at their handes haue iustice. That this was the case that S. Cyprian speaketh of, manie things may persuade. First that he saith: *Cum statutū sit omnibus nobis* wheras an ordre is taken emōgest vs all, he giueth vs two thinges to vnderstande, that whereas they toke suche an ordre emōgest thē, it was not ordinarily so before, but accustomed rather to be otherwise, or elles what neded a statute to be made to forbid a thing neuer any otherwise practised? Nexte, that it was but for thē only, for he saith, *omnibus nobis*, emōgest all vs. So that in other places he denieth not, yea by these words he cōfesseth rather, that it was otherwise. And therefore you haue done lewdly and made a lowde lie M. Nowel, to gather of this place, this generall propositiō, that all appellations from the bishop of one cōuntry to the bishop of an other be vnlauffull. Whereas this ordre being taken only in Afrike by common consent of the Africans, was not in Spaine, as appeareth by the appealing from thence of Basilides to Rome. Which if it had bene vnlauffull, neuer woulde S. Cyprian we may be suer, haue made other exception why the sentence giuen by Stephanus the pope for his restitution shoulde not be good, then this, because it was giuen by him that was no iudge at all, of all other the best and moste peremptory: neuer would he haue obiected that it was obtained by false suggestion and wrong information, which argueth the goodnes and validitie of the appellation of it selfe. But what speake I of Spaine, when S. Cyprian his owne labouring at Rome with the pope by lettres, by legates, by all meanes possible, that this vniust appeale might not be receaued, when his counting to faile after them, to conuince their.

S. Cyprian's place
expounded.

Cyprian lib.
1. epist. 4.

Li. 1. ep. 3.

their lieng tongues by vndoubted and assured proufe of the truthe, ought sufficiently to make faithe, that seing the pope had neuer confirmed this locall statute of theirs, and therby not renounced his right: seing his subiectes against the ordre taken had appealed to Rome, he must also nedes answere the appeale, for the vnlafulnes wherof on their partes that folowed it, he alleageth here their own consent, in these words *omnibus nobis*, agreed by al vs, to moue therby the rather the B. of Rome not to receiue their appeale, but to remit the cause home againe.

Whereas you saie that S. Cyprian hathe, that none but naughty and desperate men doe thinke the auctoritie of some bishoppes to be inferiour to the auctoritie of other, surely yow go about bothe to prone youre selfe, S. Cyprian, S. Austen, and all the learned fathers of Christes church naughty and desperate men. You condemne in like maner the auncient generall councelles and continuall practise of the catholike church. For who is so ignorant that he knoweth not, that the bookes of the learned fathers, the canons of the auncient counsell, the vsage of Christes church, haue so religiously alwaies obserued this difference of bishoppes, that the verie names of patriarkes, primates, Archebishoppes, retained allwaies and vsed in the church, are able to conuince him to be an impudent lier that shall susteine the contrary. Youre selfe confesse, that there be chiefe prelates in euery prouince. If chiefe, Ergo inferious. You call him a naughty and desperate man that thinketh the auctoritie of some bishoppes to be inferiour to the auctoritie of other. Yow saie the same youre selfe by graunting that there be chiefe prelates. Having sought all the meanes that my pore witte can inuent to exempt yow from this companie of naughty and desperate men, I finde no other

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then this, that perhappes you only saye it for a shift, and thinke it not in deede. But if you were to be accounted naught and desperate for this, yea had you in this respecte cause to reioyce, that yow were like to haue the companie of S. Austen: who telleth Bonifacius the pope, that in the gouernement of the church *he was not onely aboue him, but aboue all other bishopps* (although the office be common to all) *in sitting in the highest top of the pastorall watche tower*: who saierh, comparing together S. Petro and S. Cyprian, *Sed & si distet cathedrarum gratia, vna est tamen martyrum gloria.* But although betwene the grace of their seates there be difference, yea the glory of martyrdome is all one. And againe comparing Innocentius the pope with Irinæus, Ciprian, Hilary, he hath: *Cum his Innocentius Romanus Pontifex confedit, etsi posterior tempore, prior loco.* With these late Innocentius the bishop of Rome, although behinde them in time, yea before them in place. Yea to comfort you the more, I dare promise yow the companie of S. Cyprian him selfe. For if he had not bene of the minde that some bishoppes are inferiour to other in iurisdiction, although not in the substance or nature of bishoply ordre, woulde he haue exhorted, yea and required the B. of Rome to write lettres in to Fraunce, to direct them to the prouince and people of Arles, wherby they shoulde depose Martianus the B. there? With what face could he haue done this had he thought that the auctoritie of one bishop were no greater then that of an other? But here you will vrge me that it is not enough to shewe by probable coniectures that in these wordes Saint Cyprian had no suche meaning, vnlesse I shewe withal what was his meaning. Yes verily M. Nowell it were enough for me to proue that the sense which you giue to these wordes of his coulde not be true, but for their sakes who

Lib. 2. de
baptism.
contra
Donat.
cap. 1.

Lib. 1. contra
Iulian. c. 2.

Lib. 3. epi.
fol. 3.

who desire to knowe not onely what is false, but what is
also true, I will open that point to. This is therefore by
this epistle of S. Cyprian moste evident, that these naugh-
ty men who complained vpon S. Cyprian at Rome, went
first before they toke their iourney to Rome in to *Numi-
dia*, and there ioynd them selues to certaine hereticall bis-
hoppes of whome *Fortunatus* was made a bishop, and so
by reason that none were made bishoppes that stode ex-
cōmunicate it must nedes be that he was by them first ab-
solued. These hereticall bishoppes of *Numidia*, these wic-
ked subiectes of his owne, who demaunded helpe and com-
plained where they ought not, he calleth by the name of a
fewe lost and desperate men, who had attempted and done
so manie thinges to the derogation of the auctoritie of the-
ir owne primate, and submitted them selues to the vnlaui-
full auctoritie of heretical and schismaticall bishoppes, *qua-
si minor videatur esse autoritas episcoporum in Africa con-
stitutorum*. As though the auctoritie seme to be lesse of the
African bishoppes, then of those of *Numidia* (we must sup-
plye) who toke vpon them to defende and mainteine *For-
tunatus* and his felowes condemned in Africa before. By
which is ment Africa the lesser wherein Carthage stode,
from which *Numidia* was a distincte prouince, whereas
yow M. Nowell take Africa for the whole, as it is counted
the thirde parte of the worlde, pretending as though no
one bishop of the other two partes of the worlde had more
auctoritie then the bishoppes of Africa. Excepte this be the
meaning of the place, you can not excuse S. Cyprian of be-
ing contrary to him selfe, as by the auctoritie acknowl-
ged by him in the pope, in Fraunce, in Spaine in Car-
thage, as you haue hearde, as by the calling in this verie e-
pistle the church of Rome the mother church and roote
of

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1. of the catholike church, it dothe manifestly appeare. Whiche of so graue an auctor is not to be thought. To conclude therefore, S. Cyprian dothe not here forbid all appellations from a bishop of one countrie to the B. of an other:
2. He saith not that all bishoppes be of like auctoritie, that
3. none but naughtie and desperate men doe thinke the auctoritie of some bishoppes to be inferiour to other. Laste
4. off all there is no worde tending to this sense, that schismes maye be allwayes (whiche yow must proue to deface the necessitie off one heade ouer all) appeased by the feuerall bishoppes of feuerall diocesses; therefore you haue made fower lyes vpon S. Cyprian.

A clustre
of lyes. 27

Nowell.
fol. 33. a. 6.

You repeate againe, (as that is a greate figure with you) that which yow saide before, that it is impossible that there shoulde be one generall heade in earthe ouer the vniuersall church, or that suche a heade can ouersee his charge, and kepe all churches from schismes and troubles, and pacifie them when they are risen. This as a thing tried by the state of the worlde at this daie and euer sith the first beginning thereof, you will leaue to the reasonable reader to determine betwixt vs.

Dorman.
fol. 50. b.

As for the impossibilitie I answered before, and saie againe, that how euer it seme impossible (the weake nature off mā cōsidered), yea suer we are that he that appointed that ordre, God him selfe, is so able to multiplie grace in his ministre, and to prouide him of suche helpe by the meanes of other inferiour ministres gouerning their feuerall charges vnder him, that it shall not only not be impossible but easy enough. Whether this one heade be hable to kepe the church from schismes and pacifie them when they are risen better then many heades, let the indifferent reader on Goddes name, take the late table of Staphilus, and after he hath vpon the viewe thereof ioyned the fruitfull encrease of heresies in oure daies, to the quiet agreement in faith wherein

wherein we liued vndre the obedience of one heade, lett him iudge whether he thinke more necessary for either the auoiding of schismes, or suppressing of them when they be raised. Which offer of yours to be tried by the state off the worlde at this daye, argueth to the worlde that yow haue neither wit in youre nowle, nor shame in youre foreheade.

That the place taken out of S. Cyprian lib. 1. epist. 3. proueth that for the which it was brought, that is, that there ought to be one generall chiefe heade ouer Christes vniuersall Church.

The 12. chapitre.

I promised to bring the indgement of certaine notable men to proue the necessitie of one heade, lest anie man shoulde thinke me to be the auctor of that assertion. Yow saie it was the inuention of ambitiousse popes.

Nowell,
fo. 33. a. 29

I thinke other men haue bene ambitiousse aswell as the popes of Rome. Year neuer was there hetherto any king or emperour, muche lesse bishop or spirituall man, able so manie hundred yeares to mainteine a superiourtie by ambition only without all good title. Neither was the diuell able to plant a succession of so many and so notable martirs, confessours, learned and vertuouse men as haue bene in the See of Rome, to deceiue the worlde by the instrumentes of Christe. It is Christe M. Nowell who hathe so by his auctoritie disposed the ordre of his church, that if you will beleue S. Cyprian, to make the same one, he hath appointed one heade thereof in earthe, as many riuers haue one spring, many braunches one roote &c. Which neded not by youre high diuinitie, seing that it hath Christe the heade thereof in heauen, in which respecte it might be one.

Dorman.

Lib. de
vni. eccl.

P

But

A DISPROVE OF MOW

But nowe to the place of S. Cyprian here by me alleaged, seing thus muche maye serue to proue you to haue made a faunderous lye.

Nowell.
fol. 33. b.

Dorman.

Yow saie, that this place of S. Cyprian here alleaged by me is not spoken of the pope.

Note.

Neither dothe it skill whether it be spoken of the pope or no. And yeat in this pointe yow spende a greate many of idle and superfluous wordes. For I am not as yeat come to proue the pope to be supream head of Christes church, but am only in the prouing hereof, that it is necessarie that there be one suche head. If you woulde nedes comp-
troll the alleaging of this place, you shoulde shewe that S. Cyprian speaketh not at all, of any necessitie to haue anye one head or iudge in the stede of Christe obeyed in earthe, neither in particuler churches, neither yeat ouer the vniuersal church. For so long as you conclude not thus, it will enue folowe, that if one prieste must be obeyed in his owne diocesse for the auoiding and appeasing of heresies and schismes, that by muche more greater reason must one prieste aboue all priestes be obeyed in the stede of Christe, to appease heresies and schismes in the vniuersall church of God. I had thought M. Nowell that you had knowen the proportion that is betwene the parte and the whole, the lesse and the greater in the same kinde. If one villaige can not consist without a head, muche lesse can one citie, and yeat lesse can one shiere, and lest of all, can a prouince or whole kingdome. Nowe when we speake of the church, one diocesse is in respecte of the whole church, as one villaige, towne, or shiere is in respecte of a whole prouince or kingdome. As therefore it is not sufficient for the quiet gouerning of a prouince or kingdome, that euery village and citie within the same haue a seuerall head to ouersee the

the inhabitantes of suche villaiges, or cities, without there be beside one generall heade to ouersee all those inferior heades : Euen so the seuerall gouernours in particular diocesses, exclude not, but inferre by a stronger reason, the necessitie of one heade ouer all other heades in the whole church. Which reason you can not shift awaie by saing that Christe is that only heade: for so (it maie be truly replied to you) he is of all the particular churches in the worlde toe. And yeat (this not withstanding) as there woulde heresies and schismes rise in particular churches if (to vse S. Ciprians wordes) *there were not one prieste and iudge obeyed in the same, in the steede of Christe*, and for this cause one suche in euery diocesse supplieth the roome of Christe not visibly present in earthe: so is not Christes being heade ouer the vniuersall church, any more let why there shoulde be a visible heade in his steede of the whole church, which is but one. Especially seing the bishoppes maye as easely, and are muche more likely to styrre vp schismes in the whole church, as are the particular members of euery particular diocesse, as the examples of youre first 600. yeares in which there was neuer yeat anie notable heresye that was not by bishoppes either begonne or maintained, sufficiently beare witnes. Which chaunce happening, seing that meanes must be sought to appease it, as well as the schismes of particular churches, and yeat Christe no more visibly present to be consulted in this case, then he is in the other: what remaineth to thinke, but that he hath supplied the lacke of his visible presence by appointing as in well one in his steede to the behooffe of the whole church, as of particular churches? For this one heade (lest any man might cauill that he might erre and drawe all after him) Christ him selfe prayed, saing in the gospell to Peter

Christes
being he-
ade of the
Churche,
excludeth
not the
ministerie
of man.

Luc. 22.

P 2 whome

A DISPROVVE OF M.

whome he left in his place to be that heade. *I haue praied for the that thy faith maye not faile.* We may not doubt therefore but that he obtained his petition. We haue no cause to doubt, considering that hether to all other apostolicall seates and moste famous churches of the worlde, as Antioche, Alexandria, Hierusalem, Constantinople, hauing perniciously erred in the faith and being quite ouerthrowen, this onley seate of the chiefe heade of Christes church, the church of Rome I meane: against so manie wicked Emperours openly assaulting it, so manie subtile heretikes craftily vndermining it, and barcking rounde about it as S. Austen saith, so manie meanes inuented to bring it to defende euill and pernicious doctrine, hathe in all these difficulties continued allwaies, and by goddes grace ever shall continue, pure and vnspotted.

*De vilit.
credendi ad
Honorat.
Cap. 17.*

Beside this, (to stoppe all youre starting holes at once nowe for hereafter) yow can not saye, that by this reason of mine, whereby I go about vpon the necessitie of one heade in euerie diocesse, to proue the like ouer the whole church, it shoulde folowe aswell that there ought to be ouer all the kingdomes of the worlde, one chiefe king or emperour, because as I saide once before, all the kingdomes in the worlde meete not together by goddes ordinaunce in one kingdome, as all the churches doe in one church: Which if they did, off necessitie they shoulde being one bodye haue one heade. And therefore in this case I maie saye with S. Austen: *Nèque enim quia & in orbem terrarum plerunque regna diuiduntur ideo & Christiana vnitas diuiditur.* Neither because kingdomes for the moste parte be diuided through the worlde therefore is Christian ynitie diuided also. And yeat this is the thing that

*Lib. de vni-
tate eccl'es.
Cap. 12.*

M. No-

M. Nowell labourerh to bring to passe, that because there be many kingdomes and consequently many kinges, there shoulde be many churches, and so many rulers of the churches or goddes apointment of governing the worlde by many kinges made frustrate, and so no kingdomes then there be churches.

Thus I haue showed yow M. Nowell howe this place of S. Cyprian maketh for my purpose, referring those wordes: *Neque vnus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos et ad tempus iudex* &c. Neither that there is one prieste and one iudge acknowledged in the church in the steade of Christe for the time, to the proufe of the necessitie of one heade ouer the whole church, by an ineuitable consequent taken from S. Cyprians wordes, not as directly ment of the pope, as you laboure to make men beleue, spending manie wordes here in vaine to prone that these wordes shoulde be spoken of S. Cyprian himselfe. To all the which long pcedisse of yowres I will then make answere, when I shall vse the place to suche purpose as you imagine I doe. Although this I will aduertise you of by the way, that the case is not altogether so clere as you take it to be, that this place of S. Cyprian is only to be taken as spoken of him selfe and not of Cornelius, as to him that shall confidre, that no particuler bishop is able to staye schismes so conueniently (whereas the bishoppes of diuerse prouinces be of equall auctoritie) as that one bishop that hath the auctoritie ouer the whole nombre of bishoppes, it can not but be manifest. And yea maie euerie man see in this place, that the one bishopp of whome S. Cyprian speaketh, shoulde be suche, as being obeyed there shoulde be no schismes in Christes church. Which can be vnderstande of no one particuler bishop, but of some such one, as because his auctoritie is vniuersal, it will folowe

that

P 3

that

2.

that the obeing of him shall procure to the whole church, to the college of priestes, quietnes and vnitie. Againe, when S. Cyprian handling of purpose this argument of the vnitie off the church, telleth vs, how the diuel haleth men to heresies and schismes, because they go not to the beginning of the truthe, seeke not out the heade, obserue not the beauntly maisters teaching, and addeth immediatly that our lordesaide to Peter: *Thou arte Peter, &c.* (as though he woulde teache vs thereby to come to the beginning of the truthe, to finde out the heade, to kepe the teaching of Christ,) that he disposed by his auctoritie that vnitie shoulde begin of one. Last, of all that he holdeth not the faithe that holdeth not the vnitie of this church that began of Petre: ought not these wordes vttered to teache vs to auoide schismes, be a rule to directe vs to S. Cyprians meaning in this place, where he saith that heresies and schismes rise, because one iudge in the church in the stede of Christe is not obeyed. But leauing the defence of this interpretation, to those that haue so alleaged and vnderstode the place (who are able it is not to be doubted to giue good reason of their doinges) I will procede to that which foloweth.

Math. 18.
*Not as
M. Iuell
iuglgeth
with this
place in. 3.
his printed
sermon.

2ol. 38. b. 7

1.

2.

Concerning the Apologie wherewith I founde faulte for saing, that Christe in the gouernement of his church useth not the ministrye off anye one generall heade, &c., which you labour here to defende, I saie: that it hath not onely committed this faulte in denieng this maner off gouernement in Christes church, (the contrarie whereof S. Cyprians wordes by a necessary consequent importe) but is blasphemouse also against Christe (whose ordonaunce it is to haue one heade to gouerne in his stede the church) by affirming so peremptorily, that it is not possible for anye man alone to be hable to susteine that office. To the which

which two if I shoulde adde this beside, that it was moſte foolishly vttered, first of the Apologie, and nowe moſte impudently defended by yow, it might perhappes moue youre cholere a litle, but yea M. Nowell it is true. For what man that had but a cromme of witt in his heade, woulde call that a thing impossible to be done, which him selfe for the space of 900. yeares can not denie to haue bene done? Denye if you can, that thus manie yeares the whole worlde hath not in spirituall matters obeyed one heade the B. of Rome? I presse you not nowe with the first six hundred yeares before, in the which the ecclesiasticall histories and writings of the fathers make moſte euident mention, that this auctoritie of one generall heade, was thorough out the whole worlde acknowledged of all men. To this one heade appellations were made from all partes of the worlde. This one heade executed the censures of the church vpon malefactours and transgressours of the ecclesiasticall canons, confirmed the ordinations and elections off bishoppes, approued or disallowed councelles, restored bishoppes wrongfully condemned and depriued, receined into the church such as had erred and gone a straie, and all this thorough out the whole worlde. But with all this I saye I will not presse you, because youre Apologie and you be it neuer so easy to be proued, will yea for your honour sake perhappes denie it. Only this I aske of yow, how yow be not ashamed to saie, that it is impossible for one man to gouerne the whole church, seing by youre owne confession for 900. yeares it hath bene so? If yow will saie that the church hath bene euill gouerned these latter 900. yeares, although that yow coulde right well proue, as you shal neuer be hable: what maketh that for this assertion off yours that one man can not possyibly gouerne the whole church.

3.

Not impossible for one man alone to gouerne the church vnder Christe.

See M. Doctor Hardinges booke the seconde edition fol. iii. b.

churche, contemning (to vse yowre owne wordes) to manie nations, so diuerse Languages and natures of men: Howe proueth it, that one generall heade can not so ouersee his charge that he shall be able to kepe all churches from schismes and troubles, and pacifie them when they are risen? If one man alone coulde for the space of 900. yeares so rule all churches disperfed thorough out all the worlde, that he was able to plant emongest so manie nations, so diuerse languages and natures of men, one naughty and corrupte faith, (as yow saie) might not the same, or maye not an other with as much facility haue planted or plant (if it were to be planted) a trueth thorough out the whole worlde? If the churche haue bene so gouerned during this terme of 900. yeares, that all the affaires of the churche haue by one heade bene so ordered, that no membre hath had iust cause to complaine, that all membres haue agreed in perfecte quietnesse one with an other and all with their heade, as youre selfe hereafter confesse, although yow labour to qualifys the matter in this wise: In deede we must nedes confesse a trueth, that whilest we all remained vnder the quiet obedience off youre Romishe heade, in doctrine of his traditions, there was a coloured hillde of quietnesse, concorde, and loue, emongest all the membres of that heade, the subiectes of that one gouernour and ruler, and specially emongest the cleargie of that one churche; if I saie, (by youre confession) there was suche a quiete agreeing thorough out all the worlde in false doctrine, will you still abide by it, that the same one heade that gouerned in this pealable maner all the worlde whome he fedde with euill doctrine, might not haue gouerned them as quietly if he had deliuerd to them sounde and wholesome doctrine? Or will you saie that God can doe lesse in procuring good thinges, then the diuell in promoting euill? that God can make one man hable alone to gouerne all the worlde with.

Note.

M. No-
well's con-
fession co-
cerning
the quiet
agreement
vnder the
gouerne-
ment off
the Pope.
fol. 56. b.
25.

without schismes, or to appease them being moued as great as it is, in euill gouernement, but not in good? If you will not saye thus, you must nedes saie, that it is nothing impossible for one man assisted by goddes grace, to gouerne the church of the whole worlde were it greater then it is, and so to confesse with all, that the Apologie in saing the contrary, and yow in defending the Apologie, haue bothe off yow, falsely, blasphemously and foolishly erred.

As for the reason whereunto the Apologie and yow leane, that as God hathe giuen to no one king to be aboue all, so to no one bishop to rule the whole church, that is as I tolde you before, to appoint God, because he hathe made manie kingdomes to make many heades of the church which is but one, and so consequently to multiply religions, and make many faithes. But because you repeate verie often this comparison, and thinke it so absurde that there shoulde be any more one heade ouer the whole church, the one chiefe king aboue all the kingdomes in the worlde I will here proue, that within the first six hundred yeares it was taken for no absurditie. There is no man I thinke that hathe bestowed anie time in the ecclesiasticall histories ignorant, what a doe *Theodora* the Emperesse, wifeto Iustinian the Emperour, made, to haue *Siluerius* the pope deprime *Menna* the good archebishop of Constantinople, and to restore *Anthemius* the heretike lausfully before by *Agapetus* the pope depriued. To the which wicked attempt when by no meanes the good pope coulde be brought to consent, false accusations were brought in against him, and so he was by tirannie remoued, and costreined to flee to a towne called *Pasara* of the prouince of *Lycia*. Whither the emperour on a time comming, the bishopp there (as *Liberatus* the Archedeacon of Carthage writeth) complaining to

him,

Q

Liberatus
in *Brenia-*
riocap. 22.

A DISPROUFE OF IT

Many Kin
ges to go-
uerne the
worlde,
one pope
to gouer-
ne the
churche.

him, and calling to winnesse the iust and terrible iudgement
of God, for the vniust expulsion of the bishop of so greata
a seate, addeth at the last these wordes: *Multas esse in hoc
mundo reges, et non esse unum, sicut ille papa est super ecclesiam
mundi totius, et sua sede expulsus* that there are manie kinges
in this worlde, and that there is no one only kinge, as that
pope is ouer all the whole churche of the worlde, expelled
from his seate. Doe you not here see Mr. Nowell that with-
in the first 600. yeares the whole worlde was gouerned by
one heade in spiritual matters, without anye necessitie to
haue it so gouerned in temporal? Woulde this good bi-
shop (is it credible) being a suzer to the Emperour, if the
churche had not bene gouerned by one heade at that time;
or if it had bene an absurditie that there shoulde be one
chiefe bishop and manie equall kinges, haue dashed the
Emperour in the mouthe with such an absurde and flatter-
lye? Or woulde the Emperour vpon this catche immediat-
ly haue caused *Silvius* to be called backe againe into Ita-
lie, and not rather haue checked the bishop for abusing him
with a lye, if he had not acknowledged his wordes to be
true? Thus muche I trust maye serue to make the indiffe-
rent reader vnderstande, that I reprehended not the Apo-
logic without iust cause.

fol. 39. a.

Nowell.
b. 1.

Youre railing against me because it is (as youre selfe con-
fesse) beside the matter, I passe ouer. But so can I this by no
meanes, that yow take it for no reproche (yow saye) to haue
youre congregation secrete, scattred, and vnknowne to all the
worlde, because this is common to yow with the primitive churche
of oure Sauour Christe, and his holie Apostles.

Dorman,

Confidre I beseeche the good Reader, whether these ne-
we vpstart heretikes of oure age be not brought to a very
Exigent, and to extreme desperation, when to excuse the

secre-

secretenesse of their congregation, their hidden and vnknown church; they wrappe them selues like crafty wolues for feare of being betrayed, in the fine fleeces and soft wooll of the name of Christe and his Apostles. As though after so manie hundred yeares that Christes faith hath flourished thorough out all the worlde, it were nowe newe to begin againe. Considre whether they ought not to be ashamed (if shame there were anie in them) to saie, that the church was in Christes time and his apostles secrete and vnknowe, seing that to them that shall reade the Actes of the Apostles it can not be vnknown, howe mightely the church encreased euen in their tyme: Seing that the Apostle S. Paule witnesseth the contrary in saing, that the faith off the Romaines (Christes true faith) was preached euen then in the vniuersall worlde. It is therefore a moste sclaunderouse and blasphemouse lye to saie, that Christes church was at anye tyme after the comming downe of the holie ghost secrete or vnknown. It is a lye to saie that it was so hidden, that who so euer woulde at anie time haue ioyned him selfe thereto might not haue knownen it. But this is an olde shift off the Donatistes, who when they coulde finde none off their religion but only in Africa, were driue to say that there the church was only, as you must say it was 50. yeares agoe in Germanie, or elles nowhere. Of whom as S. Auste said then, so will I laie of you now: *O impudente. voce etc. O impudent voice, is there no church because thou art not in it? See to thy selfe lest thou be not (in it) therefore. For the church shal be although thou be not. This abominable, this detestable voice of presumption and falshood, bolstered with no trueth, lightened with no wisdom, seasoned with no discretion, vaine, rashe, hedlong, pernicious, did the spirit of God forsee, and spake euen as it were against them, when he preached*

*Act. 2. 4
& alibi.*

Rom. 1.

*A sclaun-
derouse
and blas-
phemouse
lye. 28.*

*In psalm.
101.*

A DISPROVE OF M.

Caluins
opinion
of the
churche.

vnitie: In gathering the people and kingdomes together to serue
oure lord. Where is now I praie you youre churche spread
thorough all nations? Where was there anie signe thereof in
all the worlde the yeare before that Martin Luther began to
preach his gospel? When I call youre cōgregation scattered
and vnknowē, I haue relatiō to that time in which you first
shewed your selues to the world. For that you now brag that
the pope and his, haue both more knowledge and feeling also of
your cōgration the liking, that is cōmon to you, seing you will
nedes holde in cōmon, with the Arriās. Whose heresies we-
re as famous in the world as yours are, and yet could ne-
uer by time so grow in credite God be praised therfore, that
their first beginning bewrayed them not to the worlde, as
yours doth you. Might you not be ashamed M. Nowell, if
there were anie shame in you, to goe about to persuaide me,
that Christes churche after fiftene hundred yeares, shoulde
be now in her enfancy, yea within these fifty yeares not
borne at all? Ihon Caluin youre late maister, in a litle treati-
se that he made against Michael Seruetus whome for his
heresies he put to deathe in Geneva, disputeth thus against
him. *Ecclesiam fingit ab annis mille ducentis & sexaginta suga-
tam a mundo fuisse, ut cœlum illi exilium fuerit. Nos certe ē
splendidis adibus eietam fuisse fatemur, sed ita ut electas a se reli-
quias admirabili gratia seruauerit dominus. Alioqui mentitus
foret, qui semper aliquem sibi populum in terra fore promisit, quā-
diu Sol & Luna in cœlo fulgebunt. Scimus quid passim de eterno
Christi regno testentur propheta. An eius sedem in cœlis locant?
Imo fore predicunt, ut sceptrum eius ē Sion procul dominus osten-
dat quo dominetur ab oriū vsque ad occasum, & eius hereditas
sit terrarū orbis. Nunc ergo populo eum priuare qui nomē eius ce-
lebret, est ac si abscissa eius parte, ipsum in cœlo mutilum includere
tentemus, Seruetus (saith Caluin) feigneth the churche these*

12. hundred and thre score yeares to haue bene chased oute
of the world, so that it must be in banishment in heauen;
We trulie confesse, that she hath bene cast out of glittering
and shining palaces, but yea so that the lorde hath pre-
serued his chosen remenates by his merueilous grace. Other-
wise he shoulde hate yed, who euer promised to him selfe
some people in the earthe, so long as the sonne and mo-
ne shoulde shine in the firmament. We knowe what the
prophetes doe in euery place witnesse of the eternal king-
dom of Christe. Doe they place his throne in heauen? Yea
trulie they prophecy that it shoulde come to passe, that the
lorde shoulde shewe a far of his sceptre out of Sion, with
the which he shall rule fro the east vnto the west, and his
enheritaunce shall be the whole worlde. Now therefore to
deprive him of his people which shoulde glorifie his name,
it is euen as though cutting of a parte of him, we woulde
affaie to include him mangled in heauen: Thus farre Cal-
uin touching the church. And therefore you may not blame
me M. Nowell, if I reason as youre maister dothe, nor maie
not thinke your selfe well excused, if after fiftie yeares you
shewe a fewe remenantes of youre church, which at the be-
ginning thereof, 50. yeares ago, coulde nor shewe in all the
worlde one man that might be as a stone thereof, so societe,
so scattered, so hidden and vnknownen was it.

Yow are not headlesse you saye, yow haue Christe in heauen
and youre prince vnder him &c. you haue the rules and groun-
der of goddes worde.

Nowell.
fol. 39. b. 3

You are not headlesse, if so manie bishoppes as you haue,
so manie heads you be vnder. But you ioine in no one head
in earthe, for which cause onelie I call you headlesse. Your
prince in earthe (for now youre minde is changed, and be-
ing past the places of S. Cyprian, which made so much for

Dorman.

the auctoritie of priestes and bishoppes, yow chie that the prince is youre heade) can not make you haue a heade in earthe, in so muche as youre whole congregation whereof I trawe yow will confesse youre selues in Englands to be membres, is not vnder any one prince. Yow haue not the rules and groundes of goddes worde to staye vpon, forasmuche as you reiect the certeine meanes and waies to vnderstande goddes word by. And therefore you knowe not whither to goe nor whereupon to rest.

*Dialog.
aduersus
Lucifer.*

fol. 30. b.

23.

fol. 40. a. 1.

That S. Hierome was of the minde that there ought to be one chiefe bishop in Christs church.

The 12. Chapter.

Yow graunt M. Nowell, that saint Cyprian and saint Hierome were bothe of one minde. Therefore saie I, they bothe proue the necessitie of one heade. Neither can I whether S. Hierome speake in this dialogue of the B. of Rome by name or no. It sufficeth to proue my intent, that as by youre owne confession S. Cyprian is of the minde that in euerye diocesse there must be one prieste and iudge in the steede of Christe whome all the rest must obeye. S. Hierome also is of the same. The which being once graunted, it followeth verie well, that seeing for one litle diocesse, a heade ouer so meane men as parish priestes be, is precisely necessarie, muche more is a heade in earthe ouer all the bishoppes which haue euerye one of them so greate power ouer their owne flocke (lest theye abuse the same.) of greater and more forcible necessitie. And therefore you take greate paines to no purpose, to proue that S. Hierome speaketh not of the B. of Rome, but of euery other bishop, the which thinge I woulde hier you to proue for me. For whereas if he had spoken of the B. of Rome by name, it had bene a reason grounded vpon the auctoritie of S. Hierome alone,

longe, now being spoken of euerie bishop, it confirmeth by
reconing the necessitie of one heade particularly in euerie
diocesse, the greates necessitie of the same one heade in the
whole bodie of the church by naturall reason also, which
proueth my purpose better then any priuate manes aucto-
ritie can doe. Ife more malice, and desire to be reuenged
had not carried you so far and fast awaye, that it gate you
no leifor to loke backe to the title of the argument that is
here handled, youre selfe would haue perceiued how
we little it were necessary, to haue in this place any speciall
mention made of the B. of Rome. Which if you had once
marked, then would you neuer haue gathered so fooli-
shely and vnlearnedly, out of the argument of the dialo-
gue written by Erasmus: *Libert. 6. The booke is very wor-
thy to be reade, as the which doth conueniently, whole some pre-
ceptes concerning the life of bishoppes.* that there was nothing in
the same dialogue, nor as much as a word that is speciall to the
B. of Rome onelye. For allthoughe there be no one wor-
de there, speciall to the B. of Rome, as it is not necessary
that there be: how shoulde you this auctoritie presse him
that would maintaine the contrary, and saye to you what
M. Nowell I thinke you wrytes faile you: Maye there not
be some one worde speciall to the B. of Rome in that dia-
logue, because it containeth manie whole some preceptes
concerning the life of bishoppes? Is not the B. of Rome a
bishop? Muche like or more foolishhe then this are youre o-
ther notes gathered here and there out of this dialogue to
proue that which you saie of euerie bishoppes auctoritie,
and to reprove my wresting as you terme it of this place to
the auctoritie of one bishop over the whole church. For who
sence reason was first poured in to mannes heade, harde
euer of one that occupieth the place of a wise man, a mo-

fol. 40.2.6

M. No-
well a we
ake reasoner.

re

re foliſhe or braineficke kinde of reaſoning then is this:
S. Hierome ſpeaketh in diuerſe places of this dialogue of manye
biſhoppes, becauſe the queſtion was whether biſhoppes retur-
ning from their heretie ſhoulde be vnbithopped or no, before
they were reconciled. Ergo, He meant not in the place alleaged
that there ſhoulde be one chiefe biſhoppe in the church.
This ſemed to your ſelf to be farre from the marke I doub-
te not, when you promiſe to come nearer to the place by
me alleaged. And therefore you bring in certeine ſentences
going next before, to proue that which I denie not, that S.
Hierome ſpeaketh of euery biſhop in his owne dioceſſe.
And thereupon you conclude.

fol. 40. b.
22.
fol. 41. b.

Nowell.

fol. 42. b. 2.

And therefore this whole matter is altogether impertinent to
D. Harding and M. Dormant purpoſe of one onely heade ouer
the whole church. Vnleſſe M. Dorman woulde frame vs thereof
this lewde argument. S. Hierome ſaith that euery biſhop ought
to haue auctoritie aboue all other prieſtes of his owne dioceſſe.
Ergo, the B. of Rome ought to haue a preeminence peereleſſe a-
boue all biſhoppes of all dioceſſes, and ouer the whole church
thorough out the whole world.

Dorman.

No M. Nowell I will not reaſon ſo in this place, becauſe
the argument whiche I handle forceth me not ſo to doe.
But if I had ſo reaſoned or woulde ſo reaſon, as yow thinke
no man being awake wil: yeat am I he, that eue in my ſleepe
M. Nowell were able to defende that argument againſte
yow, ſtaring with bothe youre eyes wide open vpon me.
And that youre ſelfe perceiued well inough, and therefore
like a tender harted ma, as lothe to breake my ſweete ſleepe,
you ſlepe from it as ſoftlye as you might. For this being, I
praye you firſt gaunte, that euery biſhop ought to haue
auctoritie aboue all other prieſtes of his owne dioceſſe, and
the reaſon being (as S. Hierome hathe here, and you in ma-
king the argument guilefully left out) for the auoiding of ſchiſ-
mes: I woulde infer for the minor or ſeconde propoſition:
but

but the same reason (for the auoiding of schismes) dothe no lesse, yea more enforce that one haue perelesse auctoritie ouer the bishops and priestes of the whole world. Ergo, there must be one suche heade, and that by a consequent the B. of Rome, who hath euer so bene reputed and taken, except you by youre deanelly auctoritie haue power to appoint some other. But I brought not S. Hieromes auctoritie M. Nowell to conclude so particularly, or to force it to the B. of Romes supremacy, but only to proue the necessitie of one generall heade ouer Christes vniuersal church, the which no reasonable man can denie but that most effectually it dooth. So that nowe youre greate musing at any man that shall to this sense alleage this place of S. Hierome, maye appeare rather to procede off some dumpish melancolike vapours occnpieng youre sonde and idle heade, or lacke of other matter to thinke vpon, then vpon any iust cause or good grounde, and that also yow haue vntuly saide of me that I haue wrested this place.

VVhy S.
Hierome
was first
alleaged.

In answering the place of S. Hierome to Enagrius you saie, first that he sheweth that *presbiter* and *episcopus*, a prieste and a bishop, be all one by the first institution and by the lawe of God.

Nowell,
fo. 42. b. 11

If it had pleased yow so to haue taken S. Hierome, he might haue ment that the name of a prieste, and the name of a bishop was all one in the vse of speche, in the holie scriptures, and in the sacrament of ordres, but not in dignitie, preeminence and auctoritie. For a bishop is preferred before a prieste in iurisdiction, although their names were once confounded. Neither are all those thinges by and by to be confounded as one in truthe and nature, the names whereof be confounded. Otherwise because the Apostles are in the gospel called disciples, an Apostle and a disciple are all one, which is well knowne not to be so. Likewise thought

Dorman.

A DISPROVFE OF M.

Ad quod
vult Deum
heres. 57.

the termes of prieste and bishop were common, yeat the thinges were neuer one: in so muche that S. Austen making mention of the heresie of Acrius saith, *Dicebat etiam presbiterum ab episcopo nulla differentia secerni debere.* He saide also that a prieste ought to be distinguished from a bishop by no difference.

In the 6.
chapitre.
fol. 33. b.

How one
bishop is
equall to
an other.

But what meane you here M. Nowell to talcke so much of the equalitie of bishoppes and priestes, being a matter in this place nothing to oure purpose? Or if it were, seing it might be saide, that euen as the olde canons (as I declared before) in that equalitie which is in priestehode, vsed yeat the worde *Archipresbiter*, chiefe prieste, and ordeined such a dignitie in the churche: so there is nothing that letteth, why in the equalitie of bishoppes and priestes, while no one is more bishop or prieste then an other, there maie not be degrees notwithstanding of superioritie, although not in the sacrament of ordres, which is common to them all, yeat in the execution of that power that is conferred thereby. But perhappes you be of the opinion youre selfe that there ought to be no difference betwene a bishop and a prieste, and therefore are the gladder to snatch occasion by all meanes, direct or indirect, to vtter youre minde therein. Nowe foloweth vpon this ground laied, that bishoppes and priestes be by the first institution and the lawe of God one, youre conclusion: whereby you will make it appeare, that you haue not without cause made mention of this equalitie of bishoppes, and priestes.

Nowell.
b. 24.

So that all bishoppes, which be the successours of the Apostles, be also *presbiteri*, that is to saie elders or priestes. Whereof it foloweth also, that there is an equalitie emongest all bishoppes by goddes lawe, as the equall successours of the Apostles. And that this is S. Hieromes minde in that place, all learned men who haue read the saide epistle doe well knowe.

This

This was not the minde of S. Hierome, but is an idle phantasy of youre owne. The learned knowe and to their iudgement I appeale, that his minde was here to compare together the state of a prieste and a bishop in the sacrament of holie ordres, common aswell to the one as to the other: that so he might refell the better the errour of those, who helde that deacons ought to be equall to priestes, as appeareth by these wordes of his in the beginning of the epistle: *Nam quum Apostolus &c.* For whereas the Apostle teacheth manifestly that priestes and bishoppes be one, what cyleth the seruauit^e of widowes and tables, arrogantly to extoll him selfe aboue them, at whose prayers the bodie and bloud of Christe is made. Doth not this example, put in the consecrating of the bodie and bloude off Christe (the whiche the poorest prieste that is, hath as good auctoritie to doe, giuen hym in the sacrament of holie ordres as the pope him selfe) declare that S. Hieromes minde was no otherwise to make priestes equall to bishoppes, but in the only ordre of priestehode common to bothe? Yea but yow will saie that the Apostles were equall in all respectes. (for if you saie not so you can not conclude absolutely as yow doe, that all bishoppes their successours be so equall). If yow saie so, that is but your bare saing only, not by the auctoritie of S. Hierome confirmed, but most plainly by the same impugned. Who in one place saith, that emongest the twelue there was a heade chosen, Peter by name, and in an other place, *that Christ made Peter the maister of his house*, THAT VNDER ONE SHEPHERD THERE MAY BE ONE FAITH. Which is directly against the equalitie that you build vpon. But let it be graunted vnto you that the apostles were equal, yet shall not your conclusion folow for all that. For it is to be considered that in the Apostles there is a double respect which is to be weighed.

R 2 nowe

Dormant

In this
epistle
ad Enagris

* He meaneth deacons.

Lib. 1. con-
tra Iovinianum.Incap.
Marci 14.
Note the
cause of
appointing one
heade.

A DISPROVE OF M.

How the
Apostles
were all
equall.

In psalm.
208.

How bis-
hoppes
be the suc-
cessours
of the
Apostles.

nowe of vs. Either we confidre them as they were all Apo-
stles, or as they were bishoppes. As they were Apostles they
were all equall, they had all like power to preache and tea-
che thorough out the whole worlde. As they were bishop-
pes and rulers of particuler churches, they were all subiect to
Petre the chiefe bishop of all. As they were Apostles, that is
to saye generall legates, to plante Christes faithe thorough
out all the world, to founde churches, to preach the word of
God, finally to gouerne vniuersally in all places where their
should come, they trāsmitted this right none of thē to their
successours, but only Peter: who was the generall shepherd
of all. Which is the cause that some of the fathers (namely
S. Austē, saie, that the power giuen to Peter was giue to him
in the persone of the church, because it was not giue to him
alone, but to all his successours to cōtinue for euer. As the A-
postles were bishops of particuler places their auctoritie en-
ded not with them, but wēt further to the whole church to
cōtinue for euer. Now to applye this to our purpose, howe
doe the bishoppes that now are succede the Apostles? They
succede them as bishoppes, not as Apostles. For if they suc-
ceded them so, who seeth not that as the Apostles made la-
wes, absolued, excommunicated and ruled thorough out all
the worlde where so euer they came, so might the bishoppes
that nowe succede thē doe the like. The which thing being
we finde by no recordes sith the apostles time that euer it
was practised in the church, and if it should, it were the nex-
te waie to disquiet al the worlde, and to fill the church full
of schismes and heresies, reason it selfe dothe conuince, that
the ordre taken emongest the Apostles was but by speciall
prinuileage, not appointed to continue for eter, or to dero-
gate anie thing from the generall ordre begonne in Peter,
and appointed to be perpetuall as long as the church shoul-
de

de endure. To conclude therefore, I graunte to you M. No-
well that the Apostles were equall as they were all the ge-
nerall legates of Christe, but not as they had their speciall
bishopricks and charges limited vnto them. In which latter
sense because the bishoppes that are nowe, succede the A-
postles, in which pointe they were not equall, it foloweth
against you that all bishoppes be not equall. If yow will
saye that the Apostles were also equall, enen in that,
that they were bishoppes of priuate places: yow haue a-
gainst yow S. Hierome him selfe. Who can not be otherwi-
se taken the to meane thus, by calling Petre (as you hard be-
fore) the head of the other Apostles, the maister of Christes house,
the one shepherde vnder whome there might be one faith. You shall
speake against Chrysostome, who speaking of S. Iames the
B. of Hierusalem, hath: *Quod si quis percontaretur, quomodo
igitur Iacobus sedem Hierosolomis acceperit: responderent hunc
totius orbis magistrum proposuisse.* That if any man woulde
aske, how then Iames came by the bishopricks of Hierusalem
woulde answere that the maister of all the worlde (Peter)
made him bishop. And a litle after in the same place. *Nam
quum magna Christus Petro communicasset etc.* For when
Christe had communicated greate thinges to Peter, and
committed to his charge the care of the whole worlde &c.
Last of all, if you will nedes contentiously mainteine that
Petre was no more aboue the Apostles as they were bishop-
pes, then as they were Apostles: the (to omitte diuerse other
that might be alleaged to this effect) yow shall saie againste
that auncient, eloquent, and learned father, who liued in the
time of persecution before the reigne of Constantine the
greate, Arnobius, the scholemaitre of that eloquent and
learned Lactantius: who by name calleth Peter **EPISCO-
PVS EPISCOPORVM** the B. of bishoppes. Seing nowe

Homil.
vlt. in cap.
Ioh. vlt.

Arnobius.

In psal.
138.

R 3 that

..A DISPROVVE OF M.

that Peter is cōfessed by the fathers to be the heade of the apostles, the one pastour, the maister of the whole world, and bishop of bishops, which cā not be in that respect that the Apostles were all the generall legates of Christe thorough out the whole world: what remaineth but to acknowledge that superioritie to haue place (as Arnobius wordes importe) ouer them, as bishoppes. And so is youre argument taken from the equalitye of the Apostles shewed to be insufficient to proue your fantasied equalitie of all bishoppes.

Hetherto you haue talked generally of this epistle of S. Hierome to Euagrius. Nowe will you come to the place (you saie) alleaged by me oute of this epistle: *Quod autem postea vnus electus est, &c.* That one was afterwarde chosen to rule the reste that was done for a remedie against schismes, &c. To this place you adde an other sentence of S. Hierome, where for example of that which he had saide, he bringeth the church of Alexandria, *VWhere from Marke the Evangelist vnto Heracla and Dionisius being bishoppes, the priestes did euer place one chosen off their companie in the higher rōume, and named him bishopps. &c.* Vpon this place yow conclude as foloweth,

Nowell.
3 .a.

VWhereby it appeareth plainely, that the wordes of Saint Hierome, *one chosen afterwarde emongest them to rule the reste, for a remedie of schismes,* doe apperteine to euery bishoppe as heade ruler of the cleargie off his own. diocesse. For saith Saint Hierome suche an heade ruler was chosen at Alexandria in Aegypt &c.

Dorman.

The example of *Alexandria* maketh nothing against my vnderstanding of these wordes to be ment of the Apostles. For why might not S. Marke the B. of Alexandria, be made bishop there after this fourme of gouernement v- sed emongest the Apostles, that as emongest the Apostles
one

one was above the reste: so in Alexandria shoulde be one chiefe ruler above the rest of the cleargie there? But in this pointe I will contende with no man. For howe euer they be to be vnderstande, of the Apostles, or of euerye bishop as heade ruler off the cleargie in his owne diocesse, once this is cleere, that by them is proued, that of one company there must for the better auoiding of schismes be one heade. Againe on the other side, you seme to be as indifferent, and therefore you adde:

And withall what so euer was done afterwarde, was not done *de iure diuino* vpon the grounde of Goddes lawe, but of an ecclesiasticall ordre and policie.

Nowell,
fol. 43. a. 23

I praye you what if this were but an ecclesiasticall ordre M. Nowell? Thinke you it nothing to breake the canons and constitutions of the vniuersall church? Because with men of youre vocation that is counted a small faulte, I will proue to the reader euen by S. Hierome him selfe, that this ordre to haue one generall heade ouer Christes church, is neither the inuention of ambitious popes (as before scandalously you saide), neither grounded only vpon anye ecclesiasticall ordre and policie, (as here vpon better aduise more modestly you reporte) but vpon the infallible grounde of Christes owne expresse ordinaunce.

Dorman.

S. Hierome therefore writing against one of youre ancestors Iouinian the heretike, who maintained that votaries and professed persones might lawfully mary, for the defence of this heresie of his (for so hath S. Augustine termed it) brought the example of Peter, who was he saide a married man. By this occasion offered, S. Hierome vttereth of S. Peter these wordes. *At dicis, super Petrum fundatur ecclesia, licet id ipsum in alio loco super omnes Apostolos fiat, & cuncti clauis regni celorum accipiant, & ex quo super eos ecclesia fortitu-*

Aug. lib. 2.
Retraſſat.
cap. 22.
Heresi. 82.

Lib. 1. c. 1.
Iouin.

do solidetur: tamen propterea inter duodecim unus eligitur, ut capite constituto schismatis tollatur occasio. Sed cur non Ioannes electus est virgo? Etati delatum erat, quia Petrus senior erat, ne adhuc adolescens ac penè puer, progressæ ætatis hominibus præferretur, & magister bonus, qui occasionem iurgij debuerat auferre discipulis, &c. causam præbere videtur inuidiæ. That is to saye: But thou saiest the church is builded vpon Petre, although the same in an other place be done vppon all the Apostles, and al of them receiue the keyes of heauē, and indifferētly vpon thē is the strength of the church grounded: yea therefore is there one chosen emōgest the 12, THAT BY APPOINTING A HEADE, OCCASION OF SCHISMES BE TAKEN AWAYE. But why was not Iohn chosen being a virgin? Age was preferred because Peter was elder. Lest a strippling and yea almost a childe, should be preferred before auncient and elderly mē, and the good maister which shoulde take from his scholers occasion of strife, &c. might seme to minstre cause of enuie. Hetherto the wordes off S. Hierome. Of the which maye be concluded: Firste, that this ordre to haue one heade in Christes church is no ecclesiasticall ordre and policie, but an ordre appointed by Christes owne mōthe to begin in his blessed Apostles: in whome if this gouernement were necessary for the auoiding of schismes, howe much more necessary it is emongest vs, I leaue to the learned and wise to iudge. The secōde cōclusion that I gather vpon this place, is, that here S. Hierome teacheth vs, that this common obiection of the heretikes, that Christ gaue power of losing and binding to al indifferētly, and that therefore Peter had no more preminēce then the rest, is a naughty and vntrue reason, as appeareth by these wordes of S. Hierome, *tamen etca.* yea one is chosen etc. Thirdly I gather, that seing the apostles were bishop-

Christ appointed
Peter to
be heade.

1.

2.

3.

bishoppes, this *Maxime* of yourres is cleane ouerthrowen, that all bishoppes be equall, and that no one hath anie other ouer him: seing the Apostles being bishoppes had Peter to be their heade. Fourthly I note, that this confession was wroong as it were by violence from S. Hierome, by the force of his aduersarie his reason. Which being that priestes might marie, seing Peter the heade of the Apostles was married: it had bene for S. Hierome his vantage to haue denied that he was heade of them, to haue sayde as yow doe, that they were all equall, and no one aboue the other. And so woulde he we maie be suer, being so vehement and learned an aduersary as he was, if it had not bene so manifest a truthe, that it coulde be no more denied, then that Peter was married. His qualifieng of the place here, that the church was in an other place builded vpon all, maie giue vs to vnderstande what he woulde quickly haue done, if Christe had not for all that, specially made Peter the heade. By this appeareth the corrupt iudgement of *Erasmus*, who in his notes vpon the epistle *Ad Marcellam* where S. Hierome hath againe, that the church was builded vpon Peter, giueth this iudgement: *Hoc distorquet in commendationem Petri*. This he wresteth to the commendation of Peter. Last of all it is to be noted, that in S. Hieromes time it was acknowledged euen by heretikes, that Christe appointed this ordre of one heade, as appeareth by this, that Iouinian grounded him selfe thereupon in reasoning against S. Hierome for the maintenaunce of his heresie. Vpon the which last note some other maie happely note, that yow and youre companions are more shamelesse heretikes, then were Iouinian and his.

To this place of S. Hierome I will adde one other, to shewe that yow abuse his auctoritie to muche in labouring

S

to foun-

Tom. 2.
ad Marcellam
aduersus Montanum.

5.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

to founde vpon him this vntreue proposition of youres, that not by goddes lawe but by mannes, this ordre of one heade in Christes Church shoulde be established. The wordes off S. Hierome alluding to the house mentioned in the ghospell, where Christe eate his passeouer are these: *Dominus domus Petrus apostolus est, cui dominus domum suam credidit, VT SVB VNO PASTORE SIT VNA FIDES.*

In cap. 14.
Marci.

One head
shepherde
that the
faith
maye
be one.

Lib. de
vnitat.
ecclesia.

The maister of the house is Peter the Apostle, to whome oure Lorde committed his house, that vnder one shepheard the faith maye be one. Doe yow not see M. Nowell the necessitie of one heade, *that vnder one shepheard the faith maye be one.* Heare yow not that it is not mannes deuise that it be so, but Christes owne ordinaunce? Haue you not with all S. Hierome expounding (as it were) the wordes of S. Cyprian: *tamen vt vnitatem manifestaret, vnitatis eiusdem originem ab vno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit*, yea to make vnitie manifest, he (Christe) disposed by his auctoritie the beginning of this vnitie to procede from one) by these wordes of his: *That vnder one shepherde there maye be one faith.*

Quod vnus
postea elec-
tus est.
S. Hierom
expoun-
ded by
him selfe.

By this it appeareth, that S. Hierome is not of that minde that yow woulde haue him to be, that is, that this ordre of hauing one heade in the church shoulde be off mannes ordinaunce, not of Christes institution. But here yow will aske me how I can then reconcile him and make him agree with him selfe: who in this place hath, that *one was afterwarde chosen to rule the rest.* If after (saye yow) then not vpon goddes lawe. Yes I reconcile him after this sorte M. Nowell. If yow vnderstande this place to be of the Apostles, then he expoundeth him selfe in the place that you harde before: where although he confesse, that in one place Christe builded the church equally vpon all

his

his Apostles, (which was done straight after his resurrection) yeat in an other he graunteth, that the good maister (for so he calleth Christe there) builded it vpon Peter, alittle before his ascension into heauen whome he appointed to be the heade of the rest. So that the worde here *Postea*, afterwardes, hath relation to that ordinarie prerogative of S. Peter giuen to him at Christes ascension, at whiche time he perfourming the promise made before to Peter in the future tense, to builde his church vpon him, appointed him as Chrysostome saith vpon that place, to haue *orbis terrarum curā*, the charge of the whole worlde. If yow vnderstande not these wordes (one chosen afterwarde to rule the rest) of the Apostles, but of the gouernement in particuler churches (as because of the example brought by S. Hierome of the church of Alexandria you thinke they shoulde) then *Postea*, afterwarde, must haue this sense, that whereas vnder one generall heade of Christes church, the particuler churches were at the beginning gouerned by manye heades and common consent (whiche was as Epiphanius saith because the apostles could not furthwith take ordre for all thinges: his wordes are, *non enim omnia statim potuerunt Apostoli constituere*, for the apostles could not furthewith take ordre for all thinges) afterwardes the state of the church being better settled, and being come (to vse the words of Epiphanius) *ad propriā mensurā*, to her own measure, that ordre appearing to be such as was not cōuenient for the gouernement of the church, was alitered, and one chosen to rule alone for the auoiding of schismes in euery particuler church: not as though S. Hiero should meane that the vniuersall church lacked at anie time one heade, or had bene gouerned by diuerse (the cōtrarie wherof he affirmed before) but that afterwarde particuler

Ioan. 20.

Ioan. vlt.

Matth. 16.

Homil. vlt.
in Ioan. vlt.Lib. 3.
heres. 75.

particular

A DISPROVVE OF M.

In cap. 1.
epi. ad Tit.
1. Cor. 1.

tiuler churchis began to see the necessitie of one head ouer euerie church, according to the patern wherein Christ appointed Peter to be the chiefe head of all. As S. Hierom him selfe in an other place doth well declare: where he saith: *An requam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent &c.* Before by the instigation of the diuell, factions were made in religion, and one saide: I am of Paule, I am of Apollo, I of Cephas, the churches were gouerned by the cōmon counsell of priestes. But after that euerie one thought those that he baptized to be his and not Christes: it was thorough out all the worlde decreed, that one being chosen out of the priestes, shoulde be set ouer the rest, to whome all the care of the church should belong, and the occasiō of schismes be taken away. Thus farre S. Hierom. By which words as it appeareth, that the schismes were in particuler churches, so the heades of whome he speaketh, were afterwarde by his minde chosen in particuler churches. Thus is S. Hierome expounded by him selfe, which I trust the learned will like much better, then suche crooked gloses of youres, as tende to no other ende, but to the defacing of the graue and learned fathers: as this coulde not choole but here discredite S. Hierome, if in a matter of suche weight as this is, he shoulde be founde contrarie to him selfe. It foloweth:

Nowell.
fol. 43. b. 4.

This which was thus done afterwarde saith S. Hierome, was done rather for the honour of priestehod then for the necessitie of the lawe. For by the lawe of God which is first, the prieste (as S. Hierome saith) may doe as muche excepting ordering only, as maye the bishop: but afterwarde for ordre, one was placed in the highest place for the auoiding of schismes. And if a prieste by S. Hieromes minde may doe as muche as a bishop, I thinke also one bishop may by goddes lawe doe as muche as an other bishop.

Dorman.

Beholde here (good reader) in M. Nowell a singular pointe of false and vnttrue dealing, which although it be with him in this booke of his, and other his companions in their other doinges, a thing verie common, and therefore the

the lesse to be meruciled at: yea surelie is it in the wresting
of this place of S. Hierome of all other moste evident to be
perceiued. For whereas S. Hierome in his Dialogues a-
gainst the Luciferians, hath, that this ordre in the church,
(that the bishop confirmeth those that are Christened not
the prieste), *was taken rather for the honour of priestes than
for the necessitie of the lawe.* M. Nowell to make the matter
probable, that this ordre of hauing one heade in the church
shoulde not be grounded vpon goddes worde, and that
there is no necessitie in it, but done rather to honour priest-
hode: applieth it to these wordes of S. Hierome to Eua-
gritus, where in expresse wordes he hath, that the appoin-
ting one to rule and gouerne the rest, was to be a remedie
against schismes. For the better vnderstanding of this false
dealing of his, I shall wishe those that either haue not the
worckes of S. Hierome at hande, or if they haue vnder-
stande not them in Latine, or if they doe, can not so easelie
turne to the place, to confidre them as they folowe here in
this place: *Quod si hoc loco quæris quare in ecclesia baptizatus
nisi per manus episcopi, non accipiat spiritum sanctum, quem nos
asserimus in vero baptismo tribui: discere hanc obseruationem ex
ea autoritate descendere, quod post ascensum domini spiritus
sanctus ad apostolos descendit. Et multis in locis idem factitatum
reperimus, ad honorem potius sacerdotij quam ad legis necessita-
tem. Alioquin si ad episcopi tantum imprecationem spiritus sanctus
defluit, lugendi sunt qui in viculis aut castellis, aut in remotioribus
locis per presbiteros, & diaconos baptizati, ante dormierunt quam
ab episcopis inuiserentur.* That is to saye. But if in this place
thow aske of me wherfore he that is baptised in the church
dothe not receiue the holie ghost but byt he handes of the
bishop, the which holie ghost we doe all affirme to be
giuen in true baptisme? Learne this obseruation to come

S. Hierom
beelied
by M.
Nowell.
29.

Hieron.
in dialog.
aduer. Lu-
cifer,

A DISPROVE OF M.

of that auctoritie, that after the ascension of oure lorde the holie ghost came downe to the Apostles. And we finde that the same is done in manie places, rather for the honour of priestehode, then of necessitie of the lawe. Els if the holie ghost come downe only at the praier of the bishop, they are to be lamented who being baptised by priestes and deacons in litle townes or villages, or places further of, doe dye before they be visited by the bishoppes. Hetherto the wordes of S. Hierome. Nexte after the which because it foloweth, *that the high prieste must haue auctoritie peerelesse aboue all other, other wise that there will be as manie schismes in the church as there be priestes*, M. Nowell thinketh that he might vnderstand, both the peerelesse auctoritie aboue all other that is mentioned in the dialogue against the Luciferians, and the preeminence that one had giuen to rule the rest as for a remedye against schismes, spoken off in this epistle to Euagrius, to be ment of onely power to confirme children or other lately baptised, which because bishoppes had, and priestes had not, he thinketh S. Hierome should call by the name of a peerelesse power, able to be a remedie against all schismes. For so vnderstandeth he this place here and before. fol. 41. b. 20.

But nowe I praye yow let me aske of you M. Nowell, when S. Hierome had saide, that this obseruation that the bishop shoulde confirme and not the prieste, came of this that the holie ghoste after Christes ascension came downe to the Apostles, when he added. *Et multi in locis idem factum reperimus, etc.* And in manie places we finde the same to be done rather for the honour of priestehod, then necessitie of the lawe: What *idem*, what same thing (constrew M. Nowell) was it, that was so done to honour priesthode, rather then for necessitie? Was not in the ministring of the Sacrament of Con-

of Confirmation? Doe not the wordes that folowe nexte after: *Alioquin si ad episcopi, &c.* Otherwise if the holye ghost come downe only at the praier of the bishop &c. spoken to proue, that there was no suche necessitie of the Sacrament of Confirmation, as thought to them that dwelling far from the bishop, and dieng before they were confirmed, the holye ghost shoulde not be giuen in baptisme) evidently conuince, that S. Hierome ment off that pointe of preeminence that the bishop hathe aboue a priest in ministring of this sacrament, that that was not of the necessitie of the lawe &c., not of that power of gouernement that we dispute of? But what labour I to conuince this wresting of youres to belieng and vnttrue, which who so euer shall reade the place, can not but presently perceiue, if he haue his common senses? Who is so verie a dolt, that when he heareth you bringing in S. Hierome providing for the peace of the church, that is the auoiding off schismes, this souereigne remedie that the bishop of euery diocesse maye confirme children or other lately baptised, which the priestes ca not do: and that there in consisteth his peerelesse power, wil not be able to tel you that this reason procedeth from some franticke braine M. Nowell, not fro the staied and graue heade of S. Hierome? For what staye for schismes, what remedie against heresies were it like to be (tell vs I coniure you by youre wisdom that first founde out this speciall remedie) if the bishop had only this power more then a priest, that yow speake of? Might not the meanest priest in his diocesse for all this, imagine and sowe emongest the people what lewde opinions he list, and tell the bishop to his face, if he shoulde reprove him therefore, that he passeth the boundes of his office, who hathe nothing elles to doe but to confirme suche as were lately bapti-

Lib. 1. epi.
fol. 3.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

baptised? If this be true M. Nowell, where is nowe
Vnus ad tempus iudex vice Christi, one iudge for the ti-
me in the steede of Christe, mentioned before by S. Cy-
prius, and acknowledged by youre selfe, to be the bishop in
his diocesse? If he be the iudge in Christes steede ouer al the
rest, then his power extendeth further I trowe then to con-
firmation. For what iudiciall acte is there done in the mi-
nistring thereof? Thus it appeareth howe shamefully you
haue beelied S. Hierom, how lowdely you haue abused his
wordes, to suche a foolish sense as no learned or wise eares
can abide.

S. Hierom
beelied a-
gainc. 30.

Nowe to youre thinking, that if a prieste by S. Hiero-
mes minde may doe as much as a bishop, that then one bis-
shop maie doe as much by Goddes lawe as an other, I sa-
ye: that I thinke not but I knowe and beleue, that you lye
vpon S. Hierome, who saith not nor is of that minde that
a prieste maye doe as much as a bishop. For in this epistle
to Euagrius, he excepteth the power of making priestes: in
the dialogue against the Luciferians, the auctoritie of ordi-
nary confirming, and in bothe the places, he graunteth to
one (which must nedes be the bishop) a peerelesse power
aboue all the rest, for the auoiding of schismes. So that this
being true, you shoulde rather haue thought that one bis-
shop might doe as much as an other *certaine things excep-
ted*, or elles you shoulde haue bene better occupied to haue
thought vpon some other matter. I maruell M. Nowell
that you harpe so much vpon this string of making bis-
shoppes and priestes equall, whereunto if youre Archebi-
shoppes and bishoppes loke not in time: I thinke those
goodfelowes ministres, shoemakers, weeners, tinkers, broo-
memen, ooweherdes, fiddlers etc, whome youre bishoppes
haue made equall to you that be inferior ministres,
you

yow of youre goodnes will shortly make equall to youre
bishops and archebishops. You proceede and saye:

Further seing this one afterwarde chosen to rule the rest was
chosen as well at Alexandria as at Rome or elles where &c: It must
needes fall out, that these wordes are chosen to rule the rest, either
make for no supremacie of any one bishop ouer all the church, as
appertaining to every bishop in his owne diocese, or if M. Dor-
man will needes enforce a supremacie by this saide wordes, he shall
be inferred to confesse the saide supremacie to be common to the
B. of Alexandria (where S. Hierome saith this one was chosen
to rule the rest) with the B. of Rome, as by the other place last al-
leged by M. Dorman out of S. Cyprian, the saide Supremacie
shoulde appertaine to the B. of Carthage &c.

Nowell,
fo. 43. b. 12

I have shewed so often before howe I enforce vpon the-
se wordes a supremacie ouer the whole church, to wit, not
directly but by an ineuitable consequent, that it is neede-
lesse to repeat my wordes againe. And therefore in thus
applicong this place to my purpose, there is no feare of brin-
ging the generall gouernement ouer the whole church to
Carthage or Alexandria. If yow haue no other thing to
trouble yow then that yow maye be quiet and take youre
rest. As for that, that yow saye, that Christe is as muche
blasphemed at Rome, as he is either at Alexandria or Carthage,
that is one of youre sclanderous lyes, as they can well
tell, who traouling thither heretikes, and finding there
more feruent deuotion then elles where, with all thinges
contrarie to youre sclanderous reportes made at home in
youre sermones and writings, haue returned (God be
praised therefore) good and perfect catholikes. Of the true
religion vsed in the which place, as if it were not impert-
nent here, I coulde saie muche: so one thing written by S.
Hierome in the praise of Rome (which I doubt not but
yow count amongst those blasphemies that are there you
saie vsed against God) I can no wise omitte. *¶* *¶* (saith be)

Dorman.

A sclan-
derous lie
31.

Nowell

Dorman

Nowell

alibi

Hieron. in
proemio.
2. epist. ad
Galatas.

Howell
2. 2. 2. 2.

at the same time, as frequently at ecclesiastical and martyr's sepulchres, where in any other place is there such a concourse with such affection and nombre, to the churches and sepulchres of martyrs? Seeing that this a praise and token of devotion (for so saith S. Hierome in this place) is more in the Romaines where this frequenting of churches, visiting of martyrs is so much used, then in other places where it is lesse, yea nothing at all, as at Carthage and Alexandria: if there were nothing elles this alone would prove you a liar. For even at this daie the same deuotion is as much used at Rome as in S. Hieromes time it was and in Carthage and Alexandria where Mahometans now dwell, as much frequented as it is with you and your felowes in England.

Dorman

Nowell.
fo. 44. 2. 3

Dorman.

Nowell.

Nowell.

Dorman.

Lib. 1. con-
tra Iovinianum.

S. Hierome saith expressly that all bishoppes be equal, and none superior and inferiour to another by gold or silver. S. Hierome saith that all bishoppes be of one priesthode and merite, that is to saie, no one more a bishop then another. That no one is in iurisdiction aboue or beneath the other, that he hath in no place. And yea is this the thing that you shoulde proue. It hath not our cause in case that we graunte, that this place dothe apperteyne to the Apostles, and that one was chosen amongst the Apostles them selues to haue the chiefe place: that is to speake first, to moderate, to stay contention, and to remedie schismes. Nowe it maketh with yd directly, who doe graunte that amongst those 12. one was so chosen to be ruler, so it is good that in every competent nombre of priester and cleergie, one be chosen likewise to be ruler.

If you will be liberrall M. Nowell, be liberrall as you shoulde be, and marre not all with a little pelting. If you will at the length yealde to the truthe that Petre was heade of the other apostles, confesse also with S. Hierome that it

was not the Apostles doing to choose him amongst them, selues, but that it was *magister bonus*, their good maister who chose Peter to be the heade, for the auoiding of schismes. Confesse that this maketh not with yow but directly against yow, who mainteine that all bishoppes be equal in iurisdiction, and no one aboue the other. For yow deceiue youre selfe and other too, when you saie, that as amongst the 12. apostles there was one aboue the rest: so in euerie competent nombre of priestes there ought to be one chiefe ruler chosen: as though only Petre had bene a bishop, and the other apostles pore priestes and no more. Where is now the equalitie that you are wont to object to vs of the Apostles with Petre? Who maketh the Apostles more inferior to Peter you or we? We saie the Apostles all of them were bishoppes in one place or other: you make youre count that they were only inferior priestes. Now being all of them bishoppes and Peter by youre confession their heade: Who seeth not that the ordre planted by Christe in his church is, that there be one bishop for the pacieng of schismes ouer the rest? Againe, if 12. perlones so well instructed by the spirit of God as the Apostles were, had a heade appointed ouer them for remedie against schismes: what reason leaueh yow to thinke, that amongst so manye ades as be in the vnuerfall church gouernours of particuler churches, not so priuileaged with grace, there maye not be the like, yea greater cause to feare schismes, and so consequently that there ought not to be the same remedie that is to save one heade? So that if you counte youre selfe hurt when it is proued that there ought to be one chiefe heade of Christes church, you are by graunting of this prerogative to S. Peter aboue the rest of the Apostles, verie dangerously hurte. Yea but you were prouided

Note.

Nowell

Cantab

Dorset

A DISPROVE OF M.

vided for all suche afterclappes before I doubt not. Other
wise so circumspect a man as you are, woulde neuer haue
yealded so farre. And therefore you adde.

Nowell.

Galat. 2.

Dorman.

And if M. Dorman vpon this graunte woulde inferre suche a
supremacie of one ouer the rest of the Apostles, as the pope clai-
meth ouer the church, S. Paule reproving Peter more sharply
to his face, then is lafull nowe for any bishop to deale with the
pope, dothe prove that Peter had no suche supremacy.

One thing I must here tell you by the wale M. Nowell,
that in debating this matter of the auctoritie of S. Peter
about the rest of the Apostles, except you forsake S. Hier-
ome, you must forgo this example of S. Paule his repro-
uing of S. Peter, which S. Hierome holdeth against S. Au-
sten (how truly I dispute not in this place) to haue bene
but a made matter betwene them, that Paule shoulde re-
prehende, and Peter suffer him selfe to be reprehended for
vsing the legall ceremonies, as appeareth in the epistles
written to and fro betwene them. And therefore if you will
be tried by S. Hierome, he shoulde rather holde with this
supremacie, as the man who if he erred in struing with S.
Austen about this reprehending of Peter, erred onely be-
cause he thought it a thing vnemely and vnlikely, that S.
Paule woulde so reprehende the prince of the Apostles.
Which was he saith the cause, why Origen and other
to stoppe the mouthe of Porphyrius the heretike, who
laied to S. Pauls charge that he was overbolde to reprehend
de Peter the chiefe of the Apostles, expounded this place
as he did.

But leauing S. Hierome, and graunting that Peter was
truly and in deede reprehended by S. Paule, let vs examine
whether suche a supremacie as is here spoken of, maie not
by the iudgement of the learned fathers of Christes church,
stande wel inough for all this reproving of S. Peter v-

sed

led by S. Paules will amongst other alleage to this purpose two only S. Cyprian and S. Austen. *Epist. ad Romanos. Quintum.*

The wordes S. Cyprian are these: *Nam nec Petrus quem primum dominus elegit, et super quem edificavit ecclesiam suam &c.* For neither Peter whom our church chose to be the chiefe, and upon whom he builded his church, when he commendeth after which Paule doth circumscribe himselfe, or challenge himselfe as being insolently or arrogantly in saying that he had the primacy, and that he ought to be obeyed of those that were not with him at first. Thus saith S. Cyprian. With whom agreeth S. Austen as he that alleageth this verie place, to prove that S. Cyprian (to whose authoritie the Donatistes leaned, for the baptizing againe of such as were Christened by heretikes) would easely suffer him selfe (for his humilitie), being but one bishop, or the doings of his owne province either, to be corrected by the statutes of the whole church, seeing that he praised S. Peter in whome was the primacie of the Apostles, for the same vertue of humilitie, in suffering him selfe to be reproved of S. Paule. Thus it appeareth that S. Paules refusing of S. Peter was no derogation to S. Peters authoritie, as the which by the confelsion of both these learned fathers remained saufe and whole, notwithstanding the reprehension of S. Paule, and withall that you and your fellowes M. Nowell, who vse so often to the derogation of S. Peters authoritie to cite this place of the epistle to the Galatians, doe shamefully abuse the same, with no small iniurie to the blessed apostles bothe.

But yet you say that I have saide nothing all this while to this, that Peters supremacie was no such as is the popes, whome no man may blame what so ever he doe. Yes sir the pope maie be blamed: Neither doe the texte nor the glose, by you here alleaged saye the contrarie. And so have diverse

Lib. 2. de baptis. contra Donatist. ca. 2.

Gal. 2.

good men freely reprehended diuers papes. S. Bernard a
mōke reprehended Eugenius the third, more sharply iwisfe
(as youtre selues can full well tel and therefore make much of
him in that respect) then euer did S. Paule reprove S. Petre.
Paulus 4. was admonished by lettres writte by one in Rome,
of the vnholiest behaviour of his nephews the two Caraffas
He toke the aduertisemen in good parte, and banished them
the courte immediatly. What should I remembre the lettres
written by Petrus a Soto a frier also, to Pius the pope, that
nowe is, wherein he admonished him freely, to take ordre
that bishoppes and other inferior pastours might be compe
lled to kepe residence with their charges, and threatened to
him vter dānation in the iudgement of God, vlesse he did.

*Dei. Tri-
denti. 17.
Aprilis
Anno Do.
1563.
Nowell.
fol. 44.
b. 24.*

It foloweth not you saye, that one being chosen to be ruler
amongest twelue, that therefore one maie be also chosen to be
ruler ouer all the charge of the world. No more dothe it that
because there was one chosen of twelue one church or diocesse
to rule the reste, that therefore there shoulde be one chosen to ru
le all bishoppes of all diocesses. namely at Rome, and the same ru
ler to be called pope or heade of the vniuersall church.

*Dorman.
Institus. li.
4. cap. 6.
sect. 8.
fol. 53. a. b.*

The first answer touching that one heade amongest
the Apostles, you learned of youtre Maister Calvin, against
whome I haue proued that the consequent holdeth ver
rye well in my first booke. The argument I haue shou
wed oftentimes howe it holdeth, and last of all in the be
ginning of this chapitre. That, that one heade shoulde be
the bishop of Rome, that was not to be proued here, it is
proued hereafter there as it should be. No more doe we care
for the name, whether he be to be called pope, heade of the
vniuersall church, or by what so euer name elles, so that
yow acknowledge his auctoritie ouer the whole church in
dede.

fol. 44. b.

Where as you saie that this kinde of collection vsed by me
yow

yow haue proued by my former reasons and similitudes by my owne witness S. Ciprian and S. Hierome to be vaine and lewde, the reader hath now my reple in those places to yowre answer. In to the learned it seme so then yow maye bragge. As I trust I haue satisfied the founnder iudgements there in: so will I when yow perourme yowre greate promise that yow here make, allaye good willing to do the like.

That the testimony of L. p. is authenticke, and proueth directly that, for the which it was firste alleged.

The 14. Chapitre.

To beginne with that which yow here in the margent, that I haue otherwise alleged this place then it is in all the printed booke that yow haue sente. I inferre, that then yow haue not sente all. For yow haue not sente that copie which being printed at Colen by Iohn Birekman the yonger, beareth the date of the year off our Lorde 1561. and testifieth as I alleged. But of that yow gaue me more occasion to speake hereafter. Nowe to the place of L. p. it selfe.

Yow graunte, that the councell of Chalcedon called Leo of whose name we dispute, *distinctione beneuolentie*, moste holie and moste blessed, but with all (yow aske) what that maketh for his supremacie.

If it make not for his supremacie, it is no greate matter M. Nowell. For who brought it for the prouofe of his supremacie I prae you let me aske you that question? You playe with me here as yow did before, when you brought me in solemnly reasoning vpon certaine titles vied by *V. Jacini* and *V. Valens* to *Iulius* the R. of Rome to proue his supremacie, of the which notwithstanding to be applied to that purpose as I neuer made anie mention: so neuer entred there anye

fol. 45. v.
m. 10. 11. 12.

Nowell.

a. 21.

Dorman.

A DISPROVE OF M.

anye suche imagination into my minde. Yett bothe there then and here nowe you fight with youre owne shadowe like a tall man, vnder S. Cyprians baner, and count the fielde halfe wonne, where there is no man to matche with yow. If I shoulde vse yow so M. Nowell, yow woulde sa-ye and so yow might iustlye, that I dreamed. What su-che dealing ought to be called in yow let the wise Reader iudge.

Caluin.
Lib. Instit.
4. cap. 8.
Sect. 11.

To the purpose why I alleaged this honourable men-
tion made by 630 fathers assembled out of all the worlde
of Leo the Pope, I did it to encountre with the sclaunde-
rouse reporte of that venimouse viper hissing oute of his
denne of Gengua, who when he could not denie that he
was bothe learned and eloquent, woulde yett (he thought)
take from him that, whiche is and ought in all men to be
chiefely valued, the name of vertue and holynesse; and the-
refore he saith, that he was a man above measure desirou-
se of glorie and dominion. This I iudged also, not amisse,
woulde be a chiefe exception against this blessed bishop
by his scholers and folowers in Englande, and therefore I
prouided so to arme his innocencie by the iudgement off
to manie vertuouse and learned fathers, as who so euer
woulde hereafter deprauce his name, well might he shewe
him selfe a malicious fole, but the fame of Leo with wyse
men he shoulde neuer be hable to empaire. And surely if
Leo to auance his owne See had taught a false doctrine,
the councell woulde neuer we maye be sure haue called
him mozte holye. But that matter the fathers them selues
in that certificate of theirs which they sent to him, bothe
by wordes and deede haue put oute of all doubt. By wor-
de, when they called him *the man to whome oure Lords had
committed the custodie of his vin: yarde*: By deede, when they
desi-

211.3.

desired him to ratifie and confirme their doings. But nowa you will propose youre exceptions against this testimonie of Leo, in ordre and fourme of lawe, and fight with me here vpon mine owne grounde.

First you laie for the fundatiō of youre first exceptiō, that it is moste euident that the epistles caried about in the names off the first auncient popes, are either forged or at the leaste corrupted by their ambitiousse successours of latter time. Yow proue yt to be moste euident, because it is you saie, easie to be perceyued. As yow will hereafter by manye circumstances declare.

If yow neuer declare it, it will neuer be perceiued. It will be taken in the meane season to be but as it is, a schauderouse lye. Which youre selfe as it shoulde seme halfe suspecting, graunte vnto vs that it maie be taken for Leo his owne epistle. And suerlie if yow woulde not haue graunted it, yow had bene muche to blame. For Caluin youre Maister durst not denie it to be Leo his, yea confessing that there remained true epistles of the olde bishoppes off Rome, wherein the auctoritie of that See was sett furthe (of which sorte saith he, are some epistles of Leo) he noteth amongest other for one of them this epistle to the B. off Thessalonica. To the which youre maister had nothing to saye, but that whether the churches then beleued his testimonie when he so aduaunced him selfe, that is it (quoth he) in dede that is in controuersie. From the which without anie further proufe why it should be in cōtrouersie, he passing, addeth. But it appeareth that manie offendid with his ambition did also withstand his gredie desire. The whiche he also affirmeth without anie proufe, as though his wordes ought to haue with vs the auctoritie of epistle or ghospell. Except the next sentence that folowe proue it, where he mentioneth

Nowell.
fo. 45. b. 6
Borrowed
of Caluin
li. 4. Inst.
cap. 8.
A. li. 32.

Dorman,

ubi supra.

Caluins
vaine re-
prouing
of this e-
pistle of
Leo.

that in this epistle, Leo appointed in his sede the B. of Thessa-
lonica thorough out Greece and other countries adjoining, the B.
of Orleance or some other thorough out Fraunce, Hormisdas B.
of Hispalis to be his vicar in Spaine. Against all the which he
hath nothing elles to saie, but that he ever graunted his co-
missions vpon this condition, (whiche we graunte and ne-
uer pope denied) that the metropolitanes should haue their
auncient priuileages saue and whole: so muche was youre
maister either more shamefast then you or lesse impudent,
who when he acknowledged this to be the true epistle off
Leo, and had as manie subtile shiftes to auoide it as yow,
durst yeat neuer bring into the light suche foolish excep-
tions as yow doe. But now let vs here you propose the first,
for the which you haue laied as a foundation to leane vnto,
so notable a lie.

Nowell.
b. 13.

The first exception against this testimonie of Leo is this:
No man can be witness in his owne cause nor iudge. Therefore
Leo his testimonie brought farthe for the preeminence of his
owne See is not to be admitted &c. This exception of yours
yow prone by reason, by scripture, by lawe.

Dorman.

John. 5.

First to answer youre reason if reason there maie be in
anie so vnecharitable iudgement: I saie it is false that the
holiest and best men be lightly partiall in their owne mat-
ters. He is neither holie nor good, much lesse to be accoun-
ted amongst the holiest and best, that for the bettring off
his owne cause will swarue from the truthe. Your testi-
monie alleged out of the ghospell is not to the purpose.
For that place proueth not, that allwaies the testimonie
that a man giueth of him selfe is false, but that when a man
hath to doe with aduersaries that will not otherwise beleue
him, as the Phariseis would not Christ, then he must vse
the testimonie of other then him selfe. Which as Leo in such
case

case you maie be suer did: so whe the matter was so farre ff
being by anie aduersarie gaine saide, that he made his com-
mission to the bishop of *Thessalonica* to be in his steade
thorough out *Grecia* and other countries adioining as he
did here, what nede had he there to bring anie proufes,
where there was at all no doubte? If you will saie, that I de-
fending the auctoritie of the pope bring Leo against you
which are the aduersaries, and that therefore now we because
you are against Christes vicar, as the Phariseis were a-
gainst Christe him selfe (for so doe you confesse that you
reason as they did, although perhappes you woulde haue
bene angrie with an other that should haue saide so much)
so I must bring other witness then him except I will take
the foile: To that I answer, that you come nowe to late
with that exception if it had no other faulte. For to answer
you who dispute so depely out of the lane like one that is
not altogether ignorant therein, *conclusum est in causa M.*
Nowell, et sententia transit in rem iudicatam I nede not to ex-
pounde these termes vnto you who haue the marrow of the
glose euen at youre fingers endes. For other men who haue
not attained to such knowledge, I saie that being in Leo his
time when he appointed in this epistle the bishop of *Thes-*
salonica in his steade thorough out *Grecia*, and other coun-
tries adioining, in an other place the B. of *Orleanse* or some
other thorough out *Fraunce*, *Hermisdas* bishop of *Hispall*
to be his vicar in *Spaine*, the churches that the were and in
to whose power the churches of this time succede, excepted
nothing against these doinges of his in his owne cause as
you surmise, but suffered the to passe till our time, the space
of 1100. yeares and odd: I answer I saie for replie to youre
exception, that had this testimonie bene (being vngately
the rigour of the lawe) insufficient, that yet forasmuch as

B. 15.

M. No-
well con-
fesseth
him selfe
to reason
against
Leo as the
phariseis
dyd a-
gainst
Christe.

How the
glose
proceedeth
from the
text of the
lawe
and how
it is to be
under-
stood

A DISPROVVE OF M.

the churchie from that time hetherto accepted it for sufficient, you come now to late to propose matter against it. To make the matter by example more plaine: if my auncestor a hundred yeares past in a contention betwene him and some other aboute a piece of landes, woulde vpon trust of the vpright conscience of some neare kinsman of his aduersaries, admit him to be a witnesse or iudge in the matter whome he might lafullie repell: might I if sentence were giuen against my auncestor by the meanes of this iudge or witnesse, come after the 100. yeares and excepte against the witnesse or iudge? Leo speaketh not nowe M. Nowell, he gaue this testimonie that the giueth 1100. yeares agoe. The whole churchie iustified his persone then, to be bothe holie and blessed. It is to late and to muche shame also for yow to starte vp now and saye the contrary.

Thus muche might be saied if it were true that Leo had bene witnesse or iudge in his own cause. But the trueth is, it is not his cause, it is the cause of Christes church and of the whole ordre of priesthod. For he pronounceth for that seate *unde vnitas sacerdotalis exorta est*, from whence priestly vnitie came: Neither is Leo in this place more to be reiected for mainteining the supremacie of Peters seate wherein he the seate, then are the testimonies of S. Cipriā, mainteining the iurisdiction of his owne bishoprike against stubborne rebelles. Shall S. Hieromes auctoritie against deacons who woulde be equall with priestes, be of no auctoritie because him selfe was a prieste? This is not the meaning M. Nowell of the glose, as greate a gloser as you be. The glose meaneth that in priuate matters that concerne the pope, as he is likewise a priuate mā, he shal not him selfe be iudge, but in those thinges which concerne the whole bodie of the church and belōg to the ordre therof, and haue no other iudge in earth,

it

Cipr. li. 4.
Epif. 9. &
ubi.

How the
glose
brought
by M. No
well is so
be vnder
stande.

it taketh not away the power of being witnesse or iudge.

Pighius you saye alleaged beside the decree of the pope, the countell of Vienna, lest anie man might esteeme the auctoritie the lesse as proceeding from the pope in his owne case. And by this yow saye it maye seeme that he thinketh the popes onelie testimonie in his owne cause not to be sufficient.

Nowell.
fol. 46. a. 1

Pighius was neuer of that minde that you would haue him seme to be. When he spake these wordes he touched the humour and noted the fashion of heretikes, and therefore *ex abundanti* he cast in the mention of the countell of Vienna, which I could doe also if that would helpe the matter, and for Vienna giue yow Calcedon: for 300. bringe yow 630. bishoppes, that called Leo the kepar of Christes vineyard, vniuersal bishop, with other termes to that effect.

Dorman.

I forbare to alleage (I confesse so muche) in one place off my booke, the notable testimonies of *Clemens, Anacletus, Euaristus, Alexander, Xistus, Telesphorus, Pius, Victor, Fabianus*, and such other, onely because the gainelaiers might happelie haue excepted against them, that because they were bishoppes of Rome they were not in that cause which was there owne, indifferent witnessses. How saye you M. Nowell what gather you hereof? That you might lawfullye take exception to them, as not indifferent? If you gather so you wrangle with me. My wordes that went before, in whiche to iustifie their persones and to shewe how vnlawfullie you shoulde doe it, I called them martirs and in the whole course of their liues verie apostles, doe witnesse with me the contrarie. Yeat saide I that you might doe it, *de facto* not *de iure*, as you maie kill a man in dede but not by lawe. As fast as you saie I laied on loads of not onelie popishe witnessses, but popes them selues: for popes I thinke it will be harde for you to name but one beside *Leo, Innocentius* and Gregorie the first, whose sainges I alleaged. And why I

428.

A DISPROVE OF M.

brought those rather then other I showed good cause. I denie not year for all that, but that euen this onely Leo I thinke is a heavier load then yow woulde be gladde to beare. That I yealded so muche at that time as to omit the testimonies of those notable popes, I repent me therof. By popish witnesses you can meane no other but the fathers off Christes church, and those to within the first six hundred yeares, for other I alleaged none. If as you woulde discredite the popes because they be popes: so you will discredite these auncient writers because they be popish and write for the pope, then you haue founde a more neare waie I confesse then M. Iaell coulde. Who alloweth all within the first 600. yeares.

As before for the fundatiō of this your first exceptiō you laied a false slaundersome lyce to builde vpon: so now to vnderprop the same, vnder the colour off a more reasonable cause of exceptiō, you bring in a fained story of Sozimus bishop of Rome, who (you saie,) did falsifie the decrets of the Nicaene councel, wherupon you will conclude, that neither Leo nor anye other pope neither, is to be believed in this matter. Not unlike to the foolish gentle woman that swaie she woulde neuer loue our Ladie more, because she was a lewe borne and the Iewes had put Christe to deathe. I knowe I shall seme to manie men to digresse to far from my purpose in folowing youre rowing from the matter, yea some thing will I saie thereto, because I knowe it to be one of the principall baits, whiche such fishers as you be M. Nowell, vse to laye to bring men from the obedience of the Sea of Rome, and heitherto in our English tongue nothing hath bene answered thereto. But because it is here impertinently intermeddled with the answers to Leo, I will first to auoide confusion end that matter, and then handle

A shift of
M. Nowell
not heard
of before
to discredite
all the fathers
that make for
the popes
auctoritie.

b.3.

the other by it selfe.

Yow saye that Pighius affirmeth and I denye, that the title of oecumenicall or vniuersall Patriarke apperteineth to the bishop of Rome of right, and that therefore there must nedes be some erreure.

Nowell.
fol. 48. a. 9

Dorman.

You report vntulye of me M. Nowell. Loke better vpon the place. I reherse there the wordes of S. Gregorie who reprehended Iohn the B. of Constantinople for taking on him the name of vniuersall bishop. Which title although it pertained to that Iohn in no sense, and was as he affected it a prophane title and altogether mete for Antichrist: yet in that sense and meaning that it belonged to S. Gregorie (in which sense onely it is to be taken when it is applyed to the bishop of Rome) I denied it not to pertain to the pope. Thus doe Pighius and I agree. Thus is there no erreur: thus goe you forward to encrease the nombre of yowre lyes.

Lye 33.

Yow merueille greatly that Leo woulde so ambitiously challenge in this epistle the same title in effect which he refused so freely offered vnto him by the whole councell &c.

Nowell.
a. 14.

Dorman.

L 20, Gregorie after him, Pius whiche is nowe, nor anye pope that euer was before did strue about titles yow maye be suer. The best title that they haue eche off them, hath bene and is, to be called *Seruum seruum Dei*, the seruant of the Seruauntes of God. But of this maye be merueiled more in what schole yow haue learned this manner, with him that of humilitie refuseth suche titles as seeme to gloriouse, to deale so hardelye, that because he refuseth the name, he must nedes be deprived of the thinge. The histories make mention that *Virellius* the emperoure woulde neither be called *Augustus* nor *Cesar*, *Cesar* refused the name of kinge: *Augustus* and *Antonius* of Lordes.

Woulde

A DISPROVVE OF M.

Woulde youre wisdom, haue serued yow nowe M. No-
well if you had liued in their time, to denie them their Em-
periall, kingly, and lordly auctoritie, because they would
not be called by suche names?

a.10.

The council is no council where the heade is absent or
consenteth not being present, and therefore if here this com-
panie gathered together in giuing this title to the pope had
iudged amisse, yet had not the councell erred. I denie not as
you saie I doe, that the councell did well: bothe the coun-
cell did well in offering a name mete to expresse the aucto-
ritie which the pope had, and so erred not, and the bishop
also well to refuse the same. Except yow will saye, that S.
Paule when he refused the almoise and charitie off good
men, either did euill in refusing it, or they euill in offering
it. The pope claimeth not this title, no more then Leo dyd
accepte it being offered. Calle him by what sobre honeste
name you list: Graunte him the auctoritie due to him, let
all titles goe. This is that whiche the pope claimeth and
you ought not to denie. This is that whiche Leo most
modestly, not as yow falselye terme it (ambitiously) cha-
lenged to Peters seate. Nowe let all reasonable men iud-
ge hardely of the goodnesse of this exception, whiche is
yours first.

1. Cor. 9.

a.24.

The seconde exception that you vse against this testi-
monie of Leo (for now you saie you will goe an other waye
to worke with me) is, that Leo saith here untruelye (if these be
Leo his wordes, for that you saye is yeat in controuersie). But
before you proue it, you will first aske me a question, whether I
haue trulye translated the place, and if I haue, howe I can make
these wordes in this epistle, there is one dignitie common to all bishoppes, to
agree with these folowing, there is difference of power amongst them, and
it is giuen to one to be aboue all the reste whose iudgement is of mosse auctoritie,
and howe this man is not in dignitie differing from the rest?

Nowell.
a.18.

b.1.

Yow

Yow doe like a wise man to goe an other awaye to wor-
ke, for some men thinke, you did but plaie before. But I
merueile why you shoulde put anie doubt whether these
be Leo his wordes or no, seing that Calvin confesseth this
epistle to be true and to be his. To youre first question I
answere, that I haue translated this place trulye according
to the copie printed at Colem anno 1561. To the next mo-
ued vpon this, how then I can make these wordes agree,
one dignitie common to all, and difference of power, that they a-
gree thus, that although they haue all one dignitie of prie-
stehode or bishoprike, that yet there is difference of power
in iurisdiction. If spirituall examples like yow not: if you
can not perceine this agreement at home in youre owne
chapitre, where being all equall in the dignitie of canons or
prebendaries, yet one deane, him selfe also a canon and in
that respecte equall to the rest, is aboue the other in power,
nor in youre prouince of Cauntorburie where all the bis-
shoppes equall in that dignitie, are yet inferiour to the
Archebishop in power, as youre selfe some times graunte,
namelie before fol. 32. a. where you vse the worde *chiefe pre-
lates of euery prouince*: yet take the paines to make a step to
westminstre hall, where when yow beholde the honorable
iudges sitting in their places, although they be equall in this
dignitie that they be all the Quenes iudges, yet is there you
can not denie difference of power emongest them. And so
haue they all one dignitie common to them, although so-
me of them be in superioritie aboue the other. I showed
yow before, but it pleaseth yow that it be repeated here a-
gaine, where with I am also not offendid, that so the reader
maie the better vnderstande youre vanitie, how S. Austen
writing to Bonifacius then pope, confesseth that he and o-
ther bishoppes haue all one bishoprike common with him
X (beholde

Contra
duas epist.
Feleg. lib. 1
ca. 1. Titm. 7

reculed backe, graunted to the bishop euen as he had wished before: and confessed after to those that were nearest about him, merueiling at and demaunding the cause of this sodeine chaunge of his minde, that it was not for the feare of his persone who came vnto him, but of an other reuerent olde man standing by him in priestly habite, who threatened him terribly with a sworde ready drawn, vnlesse he accorded to all thinges that he shoulde require. Now consider you good readers what maner of man he is that raieth thus vpon suche a father as Leo was, and thinke what it is that he will take conscience in the doing or saying, who is not ashamed to diffame the chiefe man in his time of all the worlde. But nowe let vs see how yow proue Leo to be vntrue.

Yow saye that he dissentith first from S. Cyprian, and next from S. Hierome. From S. Cyprian, because he is of the minde that controuersies shoulde be determined in the place where they doe arise, and that this sentence of his, and that no appellations shoulde be made to anie B. of an other prouince, yea and that namely not to the B. of Rome, nor that he shoulde sende anie legates Laterall to heare or determine forraine matters; both the whole councell of Carthage wherein was S. Augustine, Orosius, and Prosper confirme.

Nowell.
fo. 49. a. 23

Yours allegation out of S. Cyprian is of no effect because yow belye him. He speaketh not there against lafull appellations but onelie, that criminall causes shoulde be iudged at home. And so the pope allwayes obserueth. He calleth not the witnesses to Rome from farre countries, but delegareth a legat to the prouince where the cōtrouersie is. The thing that specially grieved here S. Cyprian was, that these desperate men of whome he speaketh, ran to certayne Numidian bishoppes to be reconciled of them. Of the B. of Rome that he neuer meant to diminish his auctoritie, his sending

Dorman.

A DISPROVE OF M.

ding a messenger to Rome to purge him selfe and prosecute the matter against those naughty men, with other diuerse arguments and conjectures mentioned before in the 11. chap. doe well witnesse. Of the 6. African councell because it dependeth vpon the matter of Zosimus, I shall in the nexte chapitre entreate.

Nowell.
49-63.

S. Ciprian you saye applieth manie suche places of the scriptures as are customably alleaged for the popes supremacie ouer all bishoppes, to the declaration of the equall auctoritie of euery bishop in his owne diocesse.

Dorman.

The places brought by S. Cyprian, are alleaged to perswade obedience to those that be heades and gouernours. The graunting of one chiefe heade ouer all diminisheth not the auctoritie of inferiour bishoppes, who in respecte of the priestes and people vnder them, are in their diocesses the high priestes and princes of the people. And thus muche doth Leo graunte in this epistle him selfe. Therefore hitherto there is no Iarre betwene S. Cyprian and him.

You bring the place of S. Cyprian in his booke *De simplicitate prelatorum*, or as the truer copies reade, *De unitate ecclesie*, to ouerthrowe Leo. The which place because youre selfe haue pitefully mangled, as one that was not ignorant how euell it woulde haue serued youre turne without some helpe of youre accustomed squaring: I will take the paines to alleage it trulie for you. The wordes are these. *Et quamuis Apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam param potestatem tribuat & dicat: Sicut misit me pater, & ego mitto vos, accipite spiritum sanctum: Si cui remiseritis peccata remittentur illi, si cui tenueritis deuebuntur: tamen ut unitatem manifestaret unitatis eiusdem originem ab uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant reliqui & ceteri apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio pradi & honoris & potestatis, SED EXORDIUM*

AB VNITATE PROFICISCITVR VT ECCLESIA
VNA MONSTRETVR. That is to saye: And although oure
Lorde gaue like power to all his apostles after his resurre-
ction and saide: As my father sent me, so sende I you. Take
you the holie ghost, whose synnes you forgiue they are for-
giuen, whose sinnes you reteine they are reteined: yea to set
furthe vnitie he disposed by his auctoritie, the same vnitie to
beginne of one. That were trulie the other apostles also
that Peter was, indued with like felowship of honour and
power, but the beginning commeth from vnitie, that the
churche maie be declared to be one. These be the wordes of
S. Ciprian faithfullie alleaged and trulie englished. I will
now repeate the matter euen from the beginning and doe
you good Readers to vnderstande, the cause why S. Cypria
mentioneth here at all S. Peter, and why he entreteth in to
this comparison betwene him and the other apostles,
and then after make you priuey to the misteries of M. No-
welles sleight in alleaging this place, which he perhappes
thinketh that no man knoweth but him selfe, and woulde I
dare saie be lothe that anie mo shoulde. For the first it is
to be vnderstande, that not manie lines before this place
that I haue nowe in hande, S. Cyprian complaining of the
fraude and subtilite of oure enemye the diuel, saith, that now
that idolles be euerie where destroied, he hath berthought
him of a newe waie to deceiue mankind, and that is by he-
resies and schismes to carie them oute of the churche. And
this commeth to passe (saith he) while men come not to the begin-
ning of truthe, the heade is not sought out, neither the doctrine off
oure beauenly maister kepte, which thinges if a man woulde con-
sidre and examine, there woulde nede no long discourse nor grea-
ze argumentes. The truthe hath made the way to proue the faith
easy: Oure Lorde saith to Peter and vpon this rocke will I buil-

Mat. 16

A DISPROVE OF M.

de my church. &c. And after his resurrection he saith to him, feed my shepe. And although after his resurrection he gaue all his apostles like power, and so furthe as I reherfed before. After all this he addeth: *Hanc ecclesiam unitatem qui non tenet, tenere se fidem credit?* This vnitie of the church he that holdeth not, thinketh he that he holdeth the faith? Thus farre S. Ciprian.

Note,]

The occasion you see that moued him to mention Peter, and to compare him with the other apostles, was because to auoide schilmes we must he said seke out vnitie by the scripture, where we shoulde finde, that our lord woulde haue his church to begin of one: of him, to whome he saide: *thou art Petre and vpon this rocke will I builde my church.* Well then must this be reteined as a truthe in the meane season, if we will be within the vnitie of the church, we must kepe vs in that church which beginning and springing out of one roote, or flowing out of one heade founteine (for these be also in this place S. Cyprians similitudes) is one. Now let vs applye the place as it is alleaged by you M. Nowell, and see whether you haue vsed S. Cyprian wel or no. You alleage the place to proue such an equalitie emongest the apostles as that there should be no difference emongest the, and so ouerthrowe all S. Cyprians drift whereby he woulde proue the church to be one, because it taketh beginninge of one. For if they be all equall and no difference betwene them, then either the church hathe no one beginning or 12. beginniges. If no one beginning, howe can the vnitie procede of that which is not? if 12, how can the church be therefore one because as S. Cyprian saith the vnitie thereof beginneth of one, or what beginning call yow that of vnitie, that commeth from suche an equall multiplicitie? If therefore it be builded vpon one alone (as by S. Cyprian it appeareth that it must) then is that one aboute
the

the rest. Nowe to haue the churchē builded vpon one, is thus muche to saye, that as in a materiall building there is one foundation whereupon all the rest thereof, stone, tymbre, Iron and what so euer elles, leaneth: so there is in the churchē one, to whome after Christe the great rocke and firste grounde, all the rest that be membres thereof muste as it were leane, he him selfe bearing the burde of the whole building. Is not this to be the chiefe stone in Gods building? If you shoulde here perhappes wrangle, and saye that although it appeare by this place, that Christe disposed the beginning of vnitie to procede from one, and from Peter too, that yea, here is no mention that the churchē shoulde be builded vpon him, notwithstanding that Christe speaking off Peter saide he woulde builde it vpon that rocke: then I remit you for the proufe that S. Ciprian meaneth so here, to those places of his *lib. 1. epist. 3. epist. 8. 22. lib. 4. epist. 9. lib. de habitatione. Virgini. lib. de bono patri. epist. ad Iudaeum.* And last of all to the epistle *ad Quintum* where he hath in expresse wordes against this equalitie that you dreame of: *Petrus quem Dominus primum elegit & super quem edificauit ecclesiam suam.* Peter whome oure Lord chose to be the chiefe and vpon whom he builded his churchē. This because yow sawe M. Nowell that the verie wordes of S. Cyprian in this place did purport, and that alleaged wholly they were to vnequall to serue your fantasied equalitie, you first hewed of this knot, *Et quamuis*, and although. Then you shaned cleane awaye, *tamen ut vnitatem manifestaret*, yea that he might make vnitie manifest, vnto this place. *Hoc erat vniue.* And yea that sentence escaped not youre fingers, for the last parte thereof: *Sed exordium, but the beginning procedeth from vnitie,* you pared cleane awaye. First the worde *Quamuis*, although, is of suche a nature, that where so euer it be put, it is a messen-

M. Nowell shamefully misuseth S. Cyprian.

A DISPROVE OF M.

messenger that signifieth some diuersitie like to followe, as when S. Cyprian saide here, although the Apostles were equall, that which foloweth, *yeat he disposed the beginning off vnitie to begin of one*, argueth in that point some inequalitye. Againe, the wordes that folowe: *tamen vt vnitatem manifestaret, yeat that he might make vnitie known*, and, *vt ecclesia vna monstretur*, that the church may be shewed to be one. These you passed ouer because in them lyeth the very cause, why oure Sauoure hath appointed one to be aboue the rest, for vnities sake: because otherwise it coulde not haue bene chosen, but so manie rulers so manie faithes, and then where had vnitie bene? Beside this, the worde *ab vno incipientem*, beginning of one, leste also quite oute, ouerthroweth that false proposition of youres, that to vnite the church and make it one in earthe, there needeth no other heade then Christe which is in heauen. Whiche if it had bene so, what neede was there that Christe shoulde appointe a mortall man to that office, as here it appeareth he did Peter. To this moste shamelesse mangling and mutilating of this and other lyke places of the fathers vsed by you and youre fellows, I saye as S. Cyprian in this verie place saith to such like craftes men, that vsed so to alleage thinges to their vantage in his tyme. *Corruptores euangelij atque interpretes falsi extrema ponunt & superiora praetereunt, partim memores, partim subdole corrumpentes. Vt ipsi ab ecclesia scissi sunt, ita capituli vnius sententiam scindunt*. That is to saie. The corrupters of the ghospell, and false interpretours take that which cometh behinde, and leaue out that which goeth before, partly mindefull, partly craftely corrupting. As they are them selues cut from the church, so deuide they the meaning of one sentence. Thus muche of youre falsehode in alleaging this place. Nowe to the place I answered, that S. Cyprian

The answer to the place of S. Cyprian.

Cyprian sayeth not, that Christe gaue like power to his Apostles in all respectes absolutely, but determineth particularly wherein this equalitie dothe consist, as in being sent to preache thorough out all the worlde as Christ was sent by his Father, in power of forgiuing sinnes. Which power being giuen to them streight vpon Christes resurrection, and being common to them as they were all the generall legates of Christe thorough out the worlde, derogateth nothing by S. Cyprians minde from that speciall auctoritie that Christe departing out of this worlde gaue to Peter to continue. And therefore to shewe that this was his meaning, euen as before S. Hierome after the like equalitie mentioned in the Apostles, concludeth, (that notwithstanding) that Peter was chosen to be the heade emongest them: so dothe here S. Cyprian after the generall rule that they had all like power, adde as an exception from the rule, the same that S. Hierome hath in other wordes: *Tamen vt vnitatem etc.* yeat to make vnitie manifeste he disposed the beginning thereof by his auctoritie to begin of one. Thus much maye suffice to satisfie youre wondring M. Nowell, with what face I haue bene so houlde and busys with S. Cyprian.

Cap. 13.

To the place of S. Hierome which you bring also to proue that the dignitie of a bishop is not esteemed by the greatnesse of his diocesse or citie, and that all be equall in office, I saie: that it is true that the dignitie of a bishop pendeth not vpon the greatnesse of his diocesse: but it is false that there be no degrees in the office of a bishop. That yow bring Erasmus to proue it, it forceth not. For he is with Catholikes of no more auctoritie the Pighius is with yow.

fol. 50. 2. p.
b. 6.

Y

That

A DISPROVVE OF M.
That betwene S. Cyprian Hierome and
Leo there is no disagreement.

The 15. chapter.

Yow are now come to the comparing of the sainges of S. Cyprian and S. Hierome, with the testimonie of Leo bearing witnesse (yow saye) to him selfe. The which you compare firste after this sorte.

Nowell.
b.8.

Leo saith, In the holie Apostles them selues there was a difference of power, and that it was geuen to one to be aboue all the rest. On the contrarie parte S. Cyprian saith, the Lorde gaue like and equall auctoritie to all his apostles: all the Apostles be indewed with like felowship both of honour and power.

Dorman.
False dealing in alleaging the wordes of Cyprian, and Leo.

Neither are Leo his wordes trulie alleaged, neither yeat S. Cyprians. Leo sayeth, that *inter beatissimos Apostolos in similitudine honoris fuit quedam discretio potestatis*, emongest the blessed Apostles in likenesse of honour there was a certeine difference of power, & *quum omnium par esset electio, uni tamen datum est, ut ceteris praeemineret*. And whereas they had all one calling, yeat it was giuen to one to be aboue the rest. S. Cyprians wordes are, *that although oure Lorde after his resurrection gaue all his Apostles like power*, (behold the likenesse of honour that Leo speaketh of &c.) yeat to make vnitie knowne he disposed by his auctoritie that it should begin of one (Lo here, *quedam discretio potestatis*, that certeine difference of power acknowledged by S. Cyprian, that Leo mentioneth). What iarring is there here M. Nowell, their wordes being trulie alleaged? Naie what swete consent is there betwene these two learned fathers? Leo saith there was emongest the Apostles a likenes of honour, but yeat a certeine difference of power, he saith their calling or election was like, but yeat giuen to one to be aboue the

the rest. Doth not S. Cyprian saie the same, when first in their election to be sent into all the worlde to preache, then in the power of remitting sinnes he maketh them equall, and yeat in adding afterwarde this particle *tamen*, but yeat, he noted a certeine difference of power, this forsoth, that vpon one of them the beginning and verie fundation of vnitie should be laied, notwithstanding all the equalitie otherwise? Is this true dealing M. Nowell thus to bring in mangled at youre pleasure the sainges of the fathers, to deface them to the worlde, as here yow doe, by taking from the wordes of Leo this particle *quedam*, making him to seme the more to differ from S. Cyprian, and cutting from S. Cyprian those wordes, *that vnitie should begin of one*, containing that certeine difference in likenes of honour that Leo speaketh of? Yow saie that S. Cyprian hath this in his boke *De simplicitate pralatorum*, noting them as double faced prelates that teache or attēpt to make one bishop aboue an other. The true title of the boke is *De vnitate ecclesie*, of the vnitie of the church, as to him that shall reade it, maie easly by the contentes thereof appeare, Yow are therefore a double faced or manie headed prelate, that for one chiefe heade giue vs so manie.

You procede in youre cōparison and saie, that Leo hath: out of this fourme is taken oure difference of bishops, that in euerie prouince one be chiefe and of most auctoritie, and the bishop of greater cities to haue greater care, and consequently that he that sitteth in Peters chaire should haue charge and be head of the vniuersal church. Thus (you say) Leo saith because he him selfe wold be Lord and head ouer all the church, wheras S. Cyprian on the other side saith: *Euerie bishop hath his seuerall portion of Christes flock to rule and govern* &c. that those who are vnder the charge of the B. of one cōtrie, may not appeale to a bishop of an other, for that the auctoritie of one bishop is not inferiour to an other, nor the auctorite of the B. of Afrike is lesse then the auctoritie of the bishopps of Italie, or Rome it selfe: for his wordes haue euidentlie

Y 2 that

M. Nowell man-
gleth the
wordes of
Leo and
S. Cyprian
to make
them dis-
agree.

Dorman.

A DISPROVE OF M.

that relation (and that none thinke the auctoritie of one bishop to be lesse then the auctoritie an other but a few wicked and desperate men.

Dorman.

Lib. 1. p. 3

Lys.

34

35

36

37

fol. 31. a.

You were driue to the wall M. Nowell when you were forced for a pore shift to say, that Leo said as he did, because he wolde haue bene lord and heade ouer the church. S. Cipriā saith that euerie bishop hath his seuerall portion. The same saith. Leo. Leo saith that the charge of the vniuersall church must haue recourse to Pcters chaire. S. Ciprian saith not the contrarye. Yea so saith S. Ciprian too, calling Rome *matricem*, the mother church. And whither should children I pray you haue recourse for succour but to their mother. He saith not that the subiecte of one bishop may not appeale to an other, that is one lie: He saith not that the cause determined by one bishop may be called before no other, that is an other lie. He maketh no comparison as you say he doth, betwene the bishoppes of Afrike, Italie and Rome, behold the third lye. He saith not that none but a fewe wicked and desperate men thinke the auctoritie of one bishop to be lesse then the auctoritie of an other: which if he shoulde youre selfe were like by that meanes to be of the nombre of such desperate and wicked men, who before acknowledged chiefe prelates, a worde that presupposeth other that be inferiour, and be contrarye to him selfe, as I proued before by his writing to Steuen the pope, wherby he required him to take ordre by his lettres for the remouing from his bishoprike, Martianus the B. of Arles, and by that, that him selfe sent to Rome to Cornelius to trie the matter before him with those euill men that complained vpon him there, by his excepting against the sentence giuen by the pope for the restitution of Basilides, for no other cause but because it was obtained by false information. All which exāples doe not only proue that he was not of the minde that no one bishop was aboue an other

ther, but this also, that the B. of Rome was of greater auctoritie then the bishoppes of Fraunce, Spaine, or Afrike.

Hetherto of the disagreement betwene S. Ciprian and Leo, which by this time all men, I trust perceiue to be no suche as you vaunted it was, yea to be none at all, but suche consent rather as in diuerse wordes there can not be greater. It foloweth that we examine how Hierome and Leo agree.

S Hierome (yow saye) hath, that all churches worshipping one Christe and obseruing one rule of truthe, are equall with the church of Rome, that all bishoppes be the successours of the Apostles and of one priestehod, and of the same merite and dignitie. But Leo saieth contrarie, that it was giuen to one to be aboue all the rest, and that they who be in greater diocesses or cities haue more care and auctoritie, and that the onelie see of Peter hath charge of the vniuersall church and is heade thereof.

Nowell.
fo. 51. a. 10
Borrowed
out of
Caluin
Inst. lib. 4.
cap. 7. Sect.
3.

Yow belye S. Hierome. He saieth not that all the churches in the worlde be equall. If he did, he shoulde saie contrarie to Irinæus, who saieth that the church of Rome hath *potentiorē principalitatem*, greater souereintie then other churches haue: contrary to S. Ciprian who calleth Rome the mother church, the roote and principall church, and contrarie to S. Austen who calleth it the church in the which the principalitie of the apostolicall see hath allwaies flourished. He saieth that Christes church is not diuided, as though Rome were one and the whole worlde another. As for that, that he saieth that all bishoppes be the successours of the apostles, those wordes make merueilously for the opinion of Leo against you. For vpon that proposition of S. Hierome I reason thus. All bishoppes be the successours of the Apostles: but the Apostles were not all equal, because as S. Hierom saith Peter was their head. Ergo by S. Hieromes minde all bishoppes who be their successours be not equall,

Dorman.
A lye. 38.

Li. 1. cap. 3
Lib. 1. ep. 3.

Epist. 162.
+ Nec altera
ra Romane
urbis eccle-
sia, altera
totius
orbis existi-
manda.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

but haue the successour of Peter their heade. Againe, Peter was heade of the Apostles, and made because there shoulde arise no schisme emongest them. Ergo the B. off Rome who is Peters successour, must be heade of his fellowe bishoppes for the same cause. These two propositions, that there was emongest the Apostles one heade, and that that was Peter, be S. Hieromes owne in his first booke against Iouinian. The wordes although I reherfed before, yea because they pertaine not onelie to this matter, but to shewe also how these thre, Ciprian, Hierome, and Leo, mete and knit as it were together in this sentence, that Christ appointed ouer his church one generall heade: I will recite once againe. The wordes therfore of S. Hierō to Iouiniā be these: *At dicis, super Petrum fundatur ecclesia, licet idipsum in alio loco super omnes apostolos fiat, & cuncti clauēs regni cælorum accipiant, & ex aquo super eos ecclesia fortitudo solidetur, tamen propterea inter duodecim vnus eligitur, ut capite constituto schismatis tollatur occasio.* That is to saie. But thou saiest: The church is builded vpon Peter, although the same in an other place be done vpon all the Apostles, and all of them receiue the keyes of heauen, and equallye is the strength of the church grounded vpon them: yea for all that is there one chosen emongest the twelue, that by making a heade emongest them occasion of schisme maye be taken awaye. See yow not now by this place of S. Hierome, M. Nowell howe the equalitie of power that S. Cyprian speaketh of, the similitude of honour and equalitie of calling, that Leo remembreth, the building of the church in one place vpon all the Apostles indifferentlie that S. Hierome mentioneth, notwithstanding: they all three conclude in one maner (with this worde *tamen*, notwithstanding) that the church was builded vpon one, that there was one heade,

ade, that there was one preferred before the reste. This place of S. Hierome as it vtterly stoppeth their mouthes, who reason that the Apostles were absolutely in all pointes equall: so confirmeth it moste strongly the answere made before to the place of S. Ciprian (*that the Apostles were all of equall power and auctority*) that that was true at the first, but that after, oure Lorde (last before his ascension) gaue the chiefe auctoritie to one, in respecte as one was chosen from the rest vpon whome the church should be builded. S. Hierome saith that al bishoppes are of one priesthode and of the same merite: you plaie the falsefier and adde of youre owne, and of the same dignitie. The gentlewoman that translated the Apologie hath preeminence: whiche maketh me to thinke, that you borrowed this patche of her, as liking better to be a folower of her falsehood then of his simplicitie, that translating Caluins institutions translated the place truly.

Nowe for further answere to this place of S. Hierome it is to be vnderstande, that he speaketh here of the custome which was in Rome, that at the testimonie off deacons priestes were promoted to ordres. The whiche when he saith, he speaketh not of the B. of Rome him selfe and his auctoritie, but of the vse and custome of that one citie. Nowe is this a thing moste certeine, that neither dothe the pope requier nor euer did, that all churches should folowe the priuate customes of his church. And therefore saith S. Hierome, that the custome of the citie of Rome is not the custome of the worlde. Yea in suche a case if the custome came to be tried, the pope him selfe would saie: *Si auctoritas queritur, orbis est maior vrbe*. If you seke to mainteine this custome by auctoritie, the worlde is greater then is a citie. Againe where as you would persuaide men that all
bif-

Ioan. 20.

Ioan. 21.

2.24.
S. Hierom
falsified
by adding
the word
(dignitie)
whiche is
not in
him.

A DISPROVE OF M.

bishoppes be equall, because S. Hierome saith that they be of equall merite and priesthode: So were the Apostles too, yea was one above the reste for all that, as Hierome himselfe confesseth calling Peter the heade appointed by Christe.

You haue hearde good readers and I trust in parte vnderstode, what shamefull shiftes M. Nowell hath made, howe busilie the man hath bestirred him selfe with false additions, wrong translations, hacking, hewing, and dismembriing of sentences, howe he hath spared no vilanouse wordes or impudent lies to deface this vertuouse and learned father Leo.

To shewe him selfe no changling, he concludeth with a conclusion lyke to his premisses, that he thinketh that fier and water are not of a more contrarie nature, then are S. Cyprian and S. Hierome contrarie to this epistle alleaged as Leo the popes epistle, beside S. Augustine and 200. and mo bishoppes agreing with them against this Leo. He repeteth againe his exceptions, that Leo in his owne cause is to be suspected, that it is to be doubted whether it be Leo his epistle in dede or an others vnder his name, that the wordes of his testimonie be eather manifestly falsified, or at the least in diuerse copies not onely diuerse but cleane contrarie. And here his tendre harte coulde not suffer him anie longer to refreine him selfe, but needes he must burst oute and lament as it were the case off the pope and poperie, that is brought nowe to suche miserie, as that being forsaken of all men almoste learned and graue, it coulde finde no other patrones but suche as I am. Allthoughe for that he confesseth, that all suche as are godly and loue the truthe haue cause to thanke almighty God.

Nowell.
a. 31. b. 13.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

fol. 52. a. 2.

Dorman.

Howe contrarie Leo is to S. Cyprian and S. Hierome, let the learned iudge: how S. Augustine and the other bishop.

shoppes make for you, the next chapitre because it dependeth vpon the historie of Zozimus shall make euident. To the being witnes in his owne cawse, to the doubte of the worcke whether it be Leo his or no, hath bene answered before. Although to certifie yow further in the last point, albeit reason woulde yow shoulde haue showed some better cause of youre doubte then yow haue, lest by that meanes euerie auctoritie brought against yow maie be called in to controuerfie, if it please yow to doubte therof: I doe note to yow here in the margent other places out of the same Leo his worckes, no epistles but certeine sermons of his, where yow shall finde that Peter into whose place he saith that he vnworthily succeeded, had the same right ouer the vniuersall church that here in this epistle he chalengeth.

For the wordes that they be not falsified in this epistle, I alleaged before a copie printed at Coleine, which readeth as I doe. But then you saie that the wordes be cleane contrarie, and so that it is impossible that bothe shoulde be true.

I am content M. Nowell to yow, that yow take the place of Leo how yow will, and reade either as some copiers haue, without *non*, or as other haue, with *non*: and when yow haue done, all shall come to one sense. For although *non* being but a little syllable be notwithstanding of greate importaunce generallie, yea here by reason of the worde *ordo* which is ambiguouse, and signifieth either a corporation and bodie, as we vse to saie the honorable knightes off the ordre, or proportiō in aray, as when the herauld telleth euerie Lord what ordre he shall kepe in their solēne processions or other assemblies, where this word is taken in another significatiō: and also of the word *dignitas* which being in like manner ambiguouse, signifieth either the dignitie of the state of bishoppes, or superioritie in that state: it maketh

Sermon. 1.
2.3. In die
Animerf.
assumpt.
Ius ad Pen
sificat.

Nowell.
B. 12.

Dorman.

A DISPROVE OF M.

no diuersitie at all. When we read thus : *Quibus etsi dignitas non sit communis est tamen ordo generalis*. To whome all though there be not one dignitie common, yea is there one ordre generall: we vnderstande by this worde (ordre) the whole order of bishoppes, emongest whome although there be diuersitie of dignities, yea because bishoppes, archbishoppes, primates, patriarches, popes, be all bishoppes, we saie: that, that order of being bishop is common to them all. Likewise in this reading we take *dignitas*, for superioritie in that ordre. As contrariwise in the other reading, *Quibus etsi dignitas sit communis non est tamen ordo generalis*, we vnderstand that *dignitas* dothe signifie that, whiche *ordo* did before, and *ordo* signifieth that which *dignitas* did, that is superioritie and preeminence in that vocation. We were not blinde you see M. Nowell, and I trust will beare vs witnes. I thinke we sawe more then yow woulde we shoulde haue done. As for my parte, by whose taking this cause in hande yow iudge that the matter shoulde be brought to greate extremitie, I confesse (God is my witnes) that had I knowen that he had minded to haue written therein who dyd, that I thinke I shoulde neuer haue taken pen in hande to haue written, nor when I had done and ended my laboure, and knewe howe muche, how learnedlye had bene sayde for the defence thereof, should euer haue suffered the same to goe in to the knowleadge off men, had I not folowed the iudgement off my betters therein. To which good meaning of myne at the firste, and readie obedience to my superiours at the last, seing that it hath pleased almightie God to giue suche successe, as that M. Nowell hauing vttered all his eloquence, and spent all his other store in awnswering (of 143. leaues) to one lye, hath not yea answered trulye to 15. wordes: I cannot

not but thinke, that his pleasure was by a young man such as I am, to shewe how little those greates pillars off their side were hable to doe. I am not I confesse of that reading and studie in diuinitie that manie other be in oure countrie. What so euer it be that is in me, I vowe it to Christe and his catholike faithe against all heretikes and heresies during my life. And suerlye that littell which I haue, shal I trust (I will saie with S. Cyprian, *dico prouocatus, dico dolens, dico compulsus*, I saie it being prouoked, I saie it sorowfully, I saie it compelled by yow thereto) be sufficient at all times to matche with yow in anie of those foure questions that I haue handled in my booke. For why should I doubt, by the aide of God to be hable to saie in defence of the catholike faithe, more then yow shall against it?

Yow saie, that hetherto I haue proued nothing, and that I haue gone about most lewdely to gather, that because euerie seuerall countrie, citie, and companie, haue their seuerall princes, rulers and heades, that all churches disperfed in all countries, cities, townes, villages &c. shoulde haue one onelie heade here in earthe.

Nowell.
fo. 51. b. 1.

I reasoned and yeat doe reason in this wise: Euerie seuerall countrie, because it is one bodie, euerie seuerall citie and companie for the same cause, must haue their seuerall rulers and heades: Therefore all the churches in the worlde being bnt one mysticall bodie, must haue one chiefe heade to rule and gouerne the same. I reasoned after the same manner: Euerie particuler church as hath S. Ciprian and S. Hierome, must haue one bishop to rule the same, and to be the heade thereof. Therefore the whole church of Christe where the daunger of schismes is greater, and the mischiefelikelier to happen, must haue in like case one heade. I haue shewed yow nowe that youre reasons to the contrarie: There is no one head ouer all the kingdoms in the world, and it is

Dorman.

A DISPROVE OF M.

Supra cap.
11. fol. 49.
b. c. 50. b
fol. 50. a
c. 61. a.

Marc. vi.
Heb. 11.

impossible that there shoulde be one such, therefore in like manner it is impossible that there shoulde be one generall heade in earthe ouer the vniuersall church, Fol. 32. b. 14. ar of no force, forasmuche as the difference of these two states is such, as suffreth not youre argument to holde. As because the diuision off vnitie, (that is of faith) in the church, for the maintenaunce wherof this ordre was take that there should be one heade in the whole church, is merueilouse daungerouse to christian men, forasmoch as without faith there is no saluatiō, as hath our Sauour him selfe: *Qui non crediderit condemnabitur*: he that beleueth not shall be damned. And the Apostle, *Sine fide impossibile est placere deo*, To please God without faith it is a thing impossible. Whereas it is not so touching the obseruation of anie other vnitie emongest Christian men in ciuile policie, forasmuche as it is not necessarie that all agree in common gouernement, but they maie well according to the diuersitie of countries, tongues, conditions of men, haue diuerse maners of liuing and gouernement. Yea it is necessarie (the contrarie natures of men and countries so requiring) that there be not onelie diuerse but contrarie positie lawes in diuerse countries and prouinces. When notwithstanding, no diuersitie of natures, no varietie of customes, no circumstances what so euer they be, can excuse them from the vniforme obseruing in all the whole worlde of goddes commaundementes, and ministring of his sacramentes, without the which there is no entraunce to life. To this may be added, that to gouerne the whole church in spirituall thinges, how harde and impossible a thing so euer it seme to you, is yeat much more easie to be done then to gouerne the worlde in temporall gouernement, bothe because the businesse and affaires of the worlde are more diuerse and contrarie then are those of the church

church, and also because the sworde of excommunication wherewith the heade of the church dothe punishe rebelles, and suche as forsake the trueth, passeth soner and easelior to the correction of suche offendours be they neuer so far of, then doth the materiall sworde which the temporall magistrat vsueth. Againe, that there shoulde be one head ouer the whole church it is Christes institution, who woulde so haue it, when committing to Peter the charge of allwell his shepe as his lambes, he made him generall shepherde, and ruler as saith Chrysostome, ouer the whole world. Whereas in temporall gouernement, it appeareth not by the scriptures that he planted ener anie suche ordre. Naye the scripture maketh mention of the contrarie if we will beleue yow. It foloweth.

Homil. 87
in cap. 10.
ban. 21.

Eccles. 17.

Nowell
b. 17.

You haue hearde also, how ignorantly (if he did not vnderstande) how shamelesly (if he did vnderstande) he hath alleaged S. Cyprian and S. Hierome for him &c.

Men haue hearde M. Nowell doubt you not, how like a propre mā you haue quit your selfe. And yea as though no man had sene you hether to, with a shamelesse repetition of a nombre of lies made before, you turne you as it were about againe to be better considred. Howe S. Cyprian and S. Hierome make not againste me but euidentlye with me, how vaine or rather a blasphemouse lye it is to saie, (seing God hath so appointed it to be) that it is impossible that there shoulde be one only heade ouer the whole church: How my witnessses agree with moste perfite consent, it hath bene to your shame before declared.

Dorman

Yow see there was no suche opinion, muche lesse knowledge, of any suche heade emongest the Apostles or in the primitive church, but that it is a newe diuelishe deuise of the late ambitiousse bishoppes of Rome: who when they were neuer able yea hitherto, well to rule the church of Rome, one citie (as by all histories

Nowell.

A DISPROVE OF M.

and experience is euident) would yeat of the worlde vsurpe the superioritie and supremacy. And if S. Paule did thinke he was not meete to haue charge of one church who coulde not well gouern his owne house of what mostrouse ambitio and presumption is hethat being neuer yeat hable to gouern one peculier church, doth claime the regiment of all churches thorough out the world, whereas he is not hable to tell the onelic names of a small parte of the saide churches, neither knoweth in what parte a greate many of them be.

Dormen.

*Epist. ad
Quint. fra-
crem.
Lib. 1. ad-
uers. Ioni-
an.*

*1. Timoth.
3.*

Are yow not ashamed M. Nowell to call it a newe di-
uelishe deuise of the late bishoppes of Rome, and to saye
that there was no suche opinion of one heade emongest
the Apostles or in the primitiue church, seing that S. Cy-
prian, and Hierome who yow saye vntrulye are againste
me, doe make mention thereof as I shewed before? The
wordes I alleaged before, it shall here suffise to note the pla-
ces. There was neuer yeat suche a gouernour, as coulde so
rule his charge were it of anye compasse, that there were
not manye thinges amisse therein. The church off Ro-
me hath bene so gouerned, that it was neuer hetherto
steined with heresies, whiche seing none of the other apo-
stolicall seates can saye, bothe must yow be inforced to ac-
knowledge Gods mightye prouidence in preseruing the
same, and to graunte withall, that if that ordre to haue one
generall heade ouer the whole church were nowe to be-
gin, and the heade to be chosen, that there were none to be
preferred before the bishop of that See. Because yow ma-
ke mention of S. Paule, who thinketh him vnmete to haue
the charge of one church that can not gouerne well his
owne house: you put me in remembraunce, that S. Am-
brose expounding the same place, calleth Damasus the po-
pe, the ruler of the whole church. And so there is one
witness more by youre good occasion giuen, to proue
that this maner of heade was not vnknownen in the primi-
tiue

ture church, and that therefore you falselye slandered the late popes and so haue encreased the nombre of youre lyes with two mo. If no man maye haue vnder his gouernance greater compasse then that he can tell if he be required the names off the cities, townes, villages, hamlettes, &c. that he is king or Lorde ouer, and in what parte of his realme they stande, yow will with youre wise diuinitie, bring the worlde to a good passe shortlye. It is not necessarie that the Frenche kinge, the Kinge of Spaine, the Queene oure maistres, or anye other Prince, doe knowe the names of all the partes that they be chiefe gouernours of. It suffiseth that their inferiour officers doe, and that if there arise anye suche controuersie as they be not able to ordre and determine, they maye then aduertise the chiefe gouernour off all, who maye by his greater power redresse the same. Euen so is it in the Pope M. Nowell, who hath the oversight of the whole church, not to gouerne all the membres thereof hym selfe by him selfe, but by the helpe of his brethren, who are called into parte of that charge with him.

Two lies.
40.

That Zozimus the bishoppe of Rome, corrupted not the canons off the Nicene councell.

The 16. Chapitre.

BECAUSE yow shall not suppose M. Nowell, that I answered here to youre by talke of Zozimus, as forced by necessitie, but onelye as I tolde you before, for this that although it be not pertinent to the matter, it is yet a foule sclaunder to that blessed bishop, and brought commonlye by youre maistres, to bring into hatred the See of Rome: I will this tell you before hande, that yow are lyke to haue as litle honestye by the proposing of this exception in for

fol. 46. b.
3.

me

me of lawe against my witnes, as you had worshippe (when being prolocutour in the conuocation house, yow woulde as it is reported, haue first passed by the house, that they shoulde all be taken for heretikes that woulde not agree to a lawe that shoulde be afterwarde made. And when yow thought to conclude (being earnest to haue youre wise deuise take place) vpon the silence that then was in the house (euerye man being astonied at so foolish a demaunde) by this maxime in the lawe: *Qui tacet consentire videtur*, he that holdeth his peace semeth to consent, where a wise man and a greate lawier telling you that in making of lawes the consent must be expresse and not presumed: you sate downe in youre place, as wise as before you stode vp. If here therefore happening vpon the rule: *Qui semel est malus semper presumitur malus*, He that is once euill is euer presumed naught, yow thought, that if you were able to proue Zozimus a falsifier, yow shoulde discredite also Leo, because he was a pope as well as the other, you were surelie greatlye deceaued. For this rule is personall M. Nowell and not locall. Otherwise because it is in anye courte in Englande a good exception against his testimonie that seruing sometimes in youre churche of Powles, and being nowe one of youre chiefe preachers, stale away the chalice, a man might take the same exception to anye other honest man of the same church. But this being I suppose well inough knowe, how childish and ynsauorie a kinde of proufe, howe farre from the purpose this that you bring of Zozimus is, let vs examine howe true it is, that he falsified the canons of the councell of Nice. How proue yow this to be true M. Nowell I praye yow?

Nowell.
fo. 46. b. 23

I proue it (saie yow) not by two onelie, but by 217. witnesses, the whole councell of Afrike, emongest whome was S. Austen,

sten, Orosius, Prosper, with manie other bishoppes notable in learning and vertue.

Well I am content to winke at yow M. Nowell as cruell as yow were with me, for bringing the testimonie of Leo in his owne cause, and I will be ignorant that this was the Africanes cause, or that they were Africane bishoppes that gaue this sentence that you speake of. But what be the wordes I praie yow that they vse against Zozimus? Doe they call him expresselye a corrupter and a falsifier?

They all, as in their epistle to Celestine one of the successours of this Zozimus appeareth, testifie that there was no suche matter for the B. of Rome superioritie as was by pope Zozimus alleaged, neither in their vsuall copies of the Nicene counsell, neither in the authentickall examples which were sent them by Cirill patriarche of Alexandria, and by Atticus patriarche of Constantinople: which authenticallies agreeing with their owne copies, and all other copies euerie where, had no suche thing as Zozimus alleaged, but had the cleane contrarie: for that the 6. and 7. decree off the saide Nicene counsell, make the patriarches of Alexandria, Antiochia, and Hierusalem equall with the B. of Rome.

If this be all M. Nowell, then are yow a corrupter and a falsifier of the sainges of 217. bishoppes. The more they be in nombre, the greater in vertue and learning, the more is youre fault to be detested of all men. They saide that they had receiued from Cyrillus and from Atticus certeine copies of the Nicene counsell, in the which they coulde finde no suche thing as the pope claimed. What thereof M. Nowell, was then the copie that Zozimus had at Rome falsified? Or if it were falsified must it nedes be by and by falsified by Zozimus? Might he not alleage it as he founde it left by his predecessours? Seing these learned fathers neuer vsed suche wordes, but on the contrarie parte called him in their lettres to *Bonifacius* after his deathe, *beata memoria*, *Venerabilis memoria*, of blessed remembraunce, of venerable

Dorman,
M. No-
well re-
sisting Leo
as witness
in his ow-
ne cause
allegeth
the Afri-
cans in
their own
cause.
Nowell.
fo. 47. a. 1.

Dorman:
217. bi-
shoppes
sclann-
dred by
M. No-
well.

A DISPROVE OF M.

memorie: Iurie you haue with the better sorte not a little
empaired youre estimation, to vse suche cancred wordes,
and father them falselic vpon the councell. But not staing
here, nor contentid onlie to haue saide his, yow charge
him further, with the maintaining of one *Apianus* against his
bishop called *Urbanus*. This is a maliciouse surmise of yours
M. Nowell and hath no grounde.

Yow saie, that *Zozimus* pretended that it was decreed at
Nice, that the B. of Rome shoulde be the chiefe iudge aboue all
other bishoppes, and that it shoulde be lafull for anie man vn-
der anie other bishop, to appeale to the B. of Rome as to the hi-
ghest iudge ouer all ecclesiasticall persones,

Dorman.

Yow haue made two lyes at once. For first, whereas
to make men beleue that the *Africanes* acknowledged no
maner of iurisdiction in the B. of Rome, yow feine the sta-
te of the cawse betwene the pope and the bishoppes, of *A-*
frica to haue bene, that he pretended a decree of the coun-
cell of Nice to be chiefe iudge aboue all other bishoppes, as
though the *Africanes* had denied that, and not stode ra-
ther vpon this pointe to limite and restraine his auctoritie
in matters criminall, and causes of correction, that is one
spitefull lie. As to them that confidre howe in matters con-
cerning faithe, the *Africanes* submitted their doinges a-
gainst *Pelagius* and *Celestius* the heretikes, to *Innocentius*,
and this verie councell to *Zozimus* the popes, by them to
be approued: how they required *Innocentius* to cite to Ro-
me *Pelagius* the heretike being then in the East: so farre
from Rome, it is a thing moste euident: So that to alleage
this acte of the *Africanes* truly, helpeth nothing youre
cause at all: as by a familier example of oure owne countrie
maie be proued vnto you. It is not vnknownen, that there be
some places in Englande so priuileaged, that for contraites

made

Nowell.
fol. 46.
b. 112.

Alie 41.
August.
epist 90.
Prosper
lib. contra
Collator.
cap. 41.

made within those places, they can be called fro thence to none of the kinges courtes, yea cease they not therefore to be the kinges subiectes. Nowe if the Africans pretended that they were not to be called out of their owne countrie to Rome, for suche causes as seemed to them reasonable, namely as they them selves alleaged, because it was a combrouse thing to call witness for enerie thing by daunger of sea to Rome: yea would they not hereby take away his auctoritie, and withdrawe their whole obedience: The seconde lye is, that the B. of Rome should pretende that it shoulde be lawfull for any man vnder any other bishop to appeale &c. That this is a lye the epistle written by the bishoppes of Africa to Bonifacius the pope dothe manifestly shewe, in the which they making mention them selves of such pointes as were contained in the popes latters, saie, that the thirde was, *de tractandis praebitorum et diaconorum causis apud finitimos episcopos, si a suis excommunicati perperam fuerint*, of pleading the causes of priestes and deacons before the nexte bishoppes, if they were vniustly excommunicate by their owne. Is this nowe sincere dealing M. Nowell, to saie that the pope pretended that any man vnder any other bishop might appeale to him, whereas here appointing the priestes and deacons to the bishoppes of their owne countrie, he releaseth all suche right. But hercoff I shall haue anon more occasion to speake, when I come to that place where you charge the counsell of Africa with making a decree, against sailing ouer the sea with controuerfies or appellations to the B. of Rome. In the meane season I will returne to the accusation put in by you against Zosimus.

Seing M. Nowell you haue for your parte done what you are hable, to proue Zosimus a falsifier and can not: I will

Concil.
African
cap. 104.
A. 112. 42.

A DISPROUVE OF M.

for the iustifieng of his innocencie, proue by suche meanes as a negatiue maie be proued, the contrarie, that he is no falsifier. First I saie therefore, that this canon of the counsell of Nice, was not onelie alleaged by *Zozimus*, but, if not before *Zozimus* was borne, yea surelie almost 100. yeares before he was ener pope, by *Athanasius* B. of *Alexandria*, by all the bishoppes of *Aegipt*, *Thebais* and *Lybia*. Who writing to *Felix* the pope make expresse mention thereof, not by heare saye, but of their owne certeine knowledge, as they that were present at the making thereof. Their wordes are these. *Nam scimus in Nicana magna Synodo &c.* For we knowe that in the greate Synode of Nice where were 318 bishoppes, it was of them all by one consent confirmed, that neither counsell should be holden, nor bishoppes condemned without the B. of Rome his sentence: that these and many other verie necessarie synodicall chapitres are burned and taken from vs by heretikes, which daily molest vs and seke oure destruction, that they maie thereby the easelie entrappe vs. Whereupon hauing founde occasion, all canonicall and Apostolicall auctoritie indifferently contemned, they drine vs vnlawfullie, without making you priuie thereto from oure owne bishoppes, inuade the shepe committed vnto vs from Christe by the Apostolicall grace, and depriue vs of oure degrees. To *Marcus* who was bishop of Rome before *Felix*, they write for the true copie of the council: they make expresse mention of 70. canons that were there by their owne knowledge agreed vpon. *Marcus* writeth againe: his epistle is to be sene, that he hath not onelie enquired out the truthe of those canons of suche aboute him as were also present at the saide councell, but by searching the recordes of Rome, had founde all things to be as they had written in their lettres. Nowe ioine these two lettres of *Athanasius* together M. Nowell with the answer made by *Marcus*, and

Bpist. Athanasij et Aegipt. pontific. ad Felicem de in festat Arianoru.

*The here takes burned the canons of the counsell of Nice.

*An absurditie to depriue bishoppes without making the pope priuie thereto

*The apostolicall seate maketh bishoppes.

and crie shame to youre selfe that hane so iniuriouſlie dif-
famed this blessed biſhop, as with the crime of forging a de-
cree, which *Athanaſius* and all the biſhoppes of Aegypt,
Thebais, and *Libia*, teſtific by their lettres to haue bene trulie
made almoſt a hundred yeares before his time, in the coũcil
of Nice, where they were preſent. Coſerre now the teſtimo-
nie of the biſhops of *Africa*, with the witneſſe that Athana-
ſius and the other biſhoppes of the eaſte giue to this matter.
The one parte ſaieth they could finde no ſuch canon in the
copies that were ſent from *Conſtantinople* and *Hieruſa-
lem*: and no maruell the canons being burned as Athana-
ſius ſaieth ſo long before: The other ſaieth, it was in the co-
pie ſent from Nice to Rome. The one parte denieth not
but ſuch a canon might be elles where: The other ſaith there
was ſuche a one, and ſheweth that it with other were bur-
ned by the *Arrians* in the eaſte churches, that they might
the rather ouerronne the catholikes. The one parte giueth
a perfect cauſe of their teſtimonie, becauſe they were pre-
ſent when the matter was concluded. Imagine nowe the o-
ther, who hauing ſought in the eaſt church for ſuche a de-
cree ſaide they founde no ſuche, to ſaie (which they doe
not) that they had harde of ſome that were preſent at the
councell, that there was no ſuche thing decreed, which wit-
neſſes were to be beletid?

This that hath bene ſaide, maye ſeme I doubt not to a-
nye reaſonable man a ſufficient cauſe, why we ought to
giue full credite to *Athanaſius*, and thoſe other biſhoppes,
and pronounce for the innocencie of *Zozimus*. Yeaf to
make it the better appeare how true it is, that *Athanaſius*
ſaieth of the burning of the *Nicene* canons, I will note ynd
to yow certeine canons, which the fathers and ſtorieſ off
the church witneſ, to haue bene concluded in that coun-
cell

Manie ca-
nons ma-
de in the
councell
of Nice,

that we
haue not
nowe.

1.
Epi. 82. li.
10. colū. 11
Note. M.
Nowell.

2.
Epist. 110.

3.
Constitut.
131.

4.
In prefat.
in Iudith.

5.
Lib. 5.
cap. 9.

6.
Epist. ad
Leonē, 78.

7.
Hister. tri-
part. lib. 1.
cap. vii.
Hare. 70.
Lib. 2. ca. 2

8.

at singl.
an
edat
Hister. tri-
part. lib. 1.
cap. vii.

A DEDICATION OF THE

cell, which yet are not amongst those twentie whiche we haue, I will first beginne with S. Ambrose, who telleth you M. Nowell, that you haue done euell being twise married, to thrust your selfe into the ministerie of the church, not only because the apostle (he saith) forbiddeth it, but the fathers also in the councell of Nice.

S. Augustin reporteth that there was a decree made in the councell of Nice, that a bishop shoulde not ordeine his successour bishop with him, notwithstanding that him selfe (he confessed) by ignorance thereof, was so ordeined by Valerius his bishop and predecessor.

Iustinian the emperour saith, that it was defined by the first foure generall councels, that the B. of Rome should be the chiefe of all other priestes.

S. Hierome saith, that the booke of Iudith was counted amongst the canonicall by the fathers of Nice.

Theodorinus alleagerh a decree of giuing ecclesiasticall degrees, of consecrating bishops, made also by the councell of Nice.

Leo affirmeth that there was an other canon touching the doctrine of Christes incarnation.

Where is there anie canon of the obseruation of the Easter daye, the desire of the vniforme obseruation whereof, was one cause why the councell of Nice was called? Yet dothe bothe Epiphanius and the tripartite historye, make mentio of a decree made by the fathers touching the same.

Your Apologie citeth out of the councell of Nice, that we ought not to be humiliter in cetera ad panem et vinum, ouer basely bent to breade and wine. We confesse it to be true, but shew you it amongst the canons.

Who doubteth that the councell of Nice was assembled toge-

together against Arius? Yeat shewe one canon againste him amongest the 30. that remaine. Was there thinke you none made? That were surely a strange matter, that in the whole doinges thereof, nothing should have bene concluded against him, for the repreſing of whome the counsell was specially called together?

Howe saye you now M. Nowell, is it likely that the Arrians burned the canons of the counsell or no? Are all these falsaries and corrupters that have alleaged this manye canons to be of the counsell of Nice, because at this daye there is none of them extant? I thinke you will not saye so. If you will not, why Zozimus more then they? Yes you saye there is an other cause, why if not Zozimus (for I thinke by this tyme you be ashamed of that matter) yeat some other hath falsified those canons. What is that I praye you?

Because there appeared in the copies sent from the East, the cleane contrarie to that which the pope claimeth. For the sixt and seuenth decree off the sayde Nicene counsell, make the patriarches of *Alexandria*, *Antiochia*, and *Hierusalem*, equall with the bishoppes of Rome.

To Brulye if it had bene so it is meruile that *Athanasius*, who was there present, shoulde have bene ignorant of it. Therefore exspect you will saye that either this epistle is feined and not *Athanasius* owne (as that is wont in other auctorities brought against you to be youre common and last refuge when you be sore pressed, which if you doe, you must not onelye saye it, but proue it also). Or that his memorie was so euill that he coulde not remembre so notable a thing so latelye before done, or his malice so greate that he woulde faine that which neuer was done: you muste nedes graunte, that this sixt and seuenth canon haue an other meaning then to make the patriarches of *Alexandria*, *Antiochia*, and *Hierusalem*, equall with the bishoppes off Rome.

Nowell.
fol. 47. a.
ii.

Dorman,

The true
vnderstan-
ding of
the 6. and
7. canon
of the
council
of Nice.

A DISPROUFE OF M.

Rome. And so haue they in dede. For the true meaning of them is, to appoint the limites and boundes of those primates iurisdicions, of whom mention is there made, according to the custome of the bishop of Rome. As the wordes whiche answere trulye to the greke and are in Latine thele, doe wel declare. *Antiqui mores obtineant in Aegypto, Libia, & Pentapoli, ut Alexandrinus horum omnium habeat potestatem, quia & episcopo Romano hoc consuetum est. Similiter etiam per Antiochiam & in ceteris provincijs privilegia seruentur ecclesijs.* Let olde customes be kepte in Aegypt, Libia, and Pentapoli, that the B. of *Alexandria* haue the auctoritie ouer them all, for as muche as the B. of Romes maner is suche. Semblablye also, thorough out Antioche and in other prouinces, let the churches haue their priuileges kepte. These wordes of the councell, as they doe nothing at all diminishe the B. of Romes auctoritie, so doe they confirme it verie muche. The reason of the councell why the iurisdiction of the B. of Alexandria shoulde extende so far, being (beside the auncient custome in those partes) the custome also of the B. Rome, who it is to be thought vsed of long time so to allow it, by conteining in his rescriptes those prouinces vnder the patriarchie of Alexandria. Which was now brought as an argumēt to confirme and continue the same. For this meaning that they should be all equall in power and auctoritie, there is no worde there able to induce. Except a man woulde bring in those graue fathers reasoning thus foolishly: because the B. of Rome hath iurisdiction ouer his owne bishoprike (for more you giue him not, and the councell nameth no place at all) therefore the B. of Alexandria shall haue iurisdiction ouer all the bishoppes of Aegypt, Libia, and Pentapoli. Had not this bene thinke you a goodly making of them equall? If you will saie that the

Rome

coun-

councell ment that the B. of Rome shoulde be patriarke in the west partes, and therein they shoulde be equall, beside that there be no suche wordes in the councell to enforce suche a meaning, yea shoulde we of England be neuer the nearer, for oure lot being to be still vnder the bishop of Rome, all youre labour were lost. And againe one chiefe rule of youre ouerthrowen, that all bishoppes be equall. Which I desire the learned reader to note diligētly. Because yow kepte before M. Nowell suche a stirre to haue all bishoppes equall. Whereas euen this verry councell that youre selfe bring, by making only three of all the world equall (if that were the meaning of the councell) dothe evidently ouerthrowe you. Wel, whether be liker of these two senses to be the sense and meaning of the councell, I will leaue to the indifferent and learned to iudge, who I doubt not when they shall easilie perceiue, that the councell attributed so much to the auctoritie of the B. of Rome, that his custome was alleaged to proue the iurisdiction of the B. of *Alexandria*, to be as a directiō not onelie for that, but also for the conseruing of the priuileges to other churches thoroughout *Aniochia* and other prouinces, he will with as like facilitie espie, how this sixt and seuenth canon, doe not onelie not disagree with that alleaged by *Zozimus*, but also peaceably agreing together, the one confirme the other. Thus much touching these canons that you woulde so faine haue made cōtrarie, without shewing the pointes wherein the patriarkes shoulde be equal with the B. of Rome) to the other alleaged by *Athanasius*, and after him by *Zozimus*.

Hauiing allreadie sufficientlie declared, that *Zozimus* is not guiltie of the crime laide to his charge, I wil adde this as for a more confirmation, that *Zozimus* if there had bene

M. Nowell cast
in his
owne
trane.

No cause
way Ze-

B b

no su-

xiimus
shoulde
forge a
canon.

A DISPROVEE OF M.

no suche canon in the councell of Nice, had yeat no cause to forge one (which he was not so simple but he wel knewe would not if he did, long be vnespied, and then the shame would light vpon him) seing that he had for him the councell of *Sardica*, not long after that of Nice (for *Osius* the B. of *Corduba* in Spaine was present at them both) nor of muche lesse auctoritie neither, as in the which were, 300. bishoppes, not of one prouince, but gathered together out of all the worlde, out of Rome, Spaine, Fraunce, Italie, *Campania*, *Calabria*, *Aphrica*, *Sardinia*, *Pannonia*, *Misia*, *Dacia*, *Dardania*, an other *Dacia*, *Macedonia*, *Thessalia*, *Achaia*, *Epiros*, *Thracia*, *Rhodope*, *Asia*, *Caria*, *Bithunia*, *Helespontus*, *Phrigia*, *Pisidia*, *Capadocia*, *Porus*, *Cilicia*, *Phrygia* againe, *Pamphilia*, *Lidia*, the Ilandes called *Cyclades*, *Aegypt*, *Thebais*, *Libia*, *Galatia*, *Palestina* and *Arabia*. Seing I saye that he had for his purpose the canons (namelie the fourthe and seuenth) of so generall a councell as this was, in which were also the bishoppes of *Africa* them selues, whome he might haue obiected. 300. if you goe to nombring (*Athanasius* that strong pillar of Christes church being one of them) against. 217, witnesses all (if I would reason as you doe (in their owne cause. I am not ignorant that *Caluin* being not so impudent as you, saith that *Zozimus* alleaged this decree of *Sardica* as a decree of the councell of Nice. But as you in that point more wily thē he, saw that he coulde neuer be hable to proue that, so perceiued you also that he had farre ouershot him selfe in making of the councell holden at *Sardica* anie mention at all, and therefore you thought it wisdome slyly to slippe it ouer, and to inuolue it vtterly in silence, lest thereby you might giue occasion to some to searche that councell, that otherwise would neuer haue thought of it. It foloweth.

Distin. li.
4. cap. 7.
Sec. 9.

And

And thesaide .217. bishoppes made a decree in that African councell, that no sailing ouer the sea with controuerfies, nor appellations to the B. of Rome, nor sending of his legates Laterall in to their countries as iudges, shoulde be vsed, according as by the epistle of the saide whole councell sent to pope Celestin it appeareth.

Nowell.
Fol. 47.
15.
Concil. African. cap.
105.

Dorman.

Beholde good Reader a moste impudent man, who is not ashamed to name an epistle for the proufe of that whiche is not there. Reade ouer the epistle here mentioned, if there appeare to be anie suche decre made there as he saith there is, neuer let me be credite more. The bishoppes of Africa in those lettres of theirs, desire *Bonifacius* the Pope in this wise: *Vt deinceps ad aures vestras hinc venientes non facilius admittatis*, that you will not hereafter ouer easely admit to be hearde suche as come to you from vs. Againe, they applie the canon of the councell of Nice forbidding to receiue to communion suche as be excommunicat of othen, to this, that the pope receiue not suche, *vel festinatio, vel prepropere, vel indebite*, either with to much haste, or to rashly, or not duly: they desire hys holynesse to repell *improbos refugia*, wicked refuges. Finally, they prae him to call home his legate from thence with these wordes, *probitate ac moderatig- ne tua sanctitatis salua*, the goodnes and moderatiō of youre holynesse excepted. Where be nowe the wordes M. Nowell that yow grounde youre decree vpon? Dothe not the contrarye rather appeare by this epistle, that he might receiue suche appeales, but not commonly, and rashely, not but vpo greate aduise? Otherwise to what end were those wordes of not receiuing complaints *facilius*, to lightly: or these, *prepropere, indebite, &c.* to rashely, vniustly? Why sayde they not rather boldly and freely, our auctoritie is as greate as youre? Why inuade you other mennes iurisdiction? Why vsurpe you where you haue no right? Why bad

1.

Can. 5.

2.

3.

Nowell
155

Dorman

A DISPROVVE OF M.

they him not call home his legate, telling him if they had made suche a decree as you saie they had, that they had made a lawe emongest them selues that neither they shoulde sue to him, nor he sende his legates to them? What meaneth all this humble submissiō of theirs, but the contrarie to this which you affirme, that there was yeat no decree made, or if there were (which notwithstanding appeareth not by this epistle) by this humble demeanure of theirs towardes the pope, to moue him the rather to beare with, and to confirme their doinges? But there appeareth no suche decree to be made emongest them, by the epistle here alleaged. Excepte of that particuler narration of theirs of the incommodiouse calling of witneses to Rome by sea, of that they founde not (they saide) ordeined by anie councell of fathers that his holinesse (I will vse their owne wordes) shoulde sende anie legates laterall thither (all the which was written to moue the pope as is maie seeme, to consent to their petition) excepte I saie of this particuler narration, youre witte, will serue you to make a generall decree. Which is like enough to be youre meaning by the wise reason that foloweth, taken from the superscription of the lettres sent to Celestinus. Belike you remembered the maxime of the lawiers, that those thinges which helpe not alone, maye yeat gathered together stande in some stede. You go forward and saye.

Nowell.
a. 35.

For the which it pleaseth D. Harding to call the Aricans, emongest whom S. Austen, Orosius, and Prosper with manie other learned and godly bishoppes were, schismatikes: as those that submitted not their neckes to the pope, and folowing Hosius his auctor, he saith that Africa cōtinued in this schisme 100. yeares, to wit from Boniface the first to Boniface the seconde.

Dorman.

M. Doctour Harding neuer mentto inuolue S. Austen,
Orosius

Orosius, or *Prosper* in anie schisme with the *Africanes*. For as at this councell it appeareth not in the recordes thereof, that *Orosius* (who neuer was bishop but only a prieste, and therefore could giue no definitiue voice in the councell that consisted of only bishoppes) or *Prosper* either, were present: so is it more then probable, that *S. Austen* who to the first epistle sent to *Bonifacius* gaue his consent and subscribed with other, wherein they protested to obserue all thinges demaunded by the pope till they coulde get from the *Easte* the true copies of the councell of *Nice*, it is I saie more then probable, that forasmoeche as in this latter epistle to *Celestinus*, no mention is made of him at all, notwithstanding that he was legat for *Numidia*, his name so famous, his bishoprike so greate, that he sawe in the meane season so muche right in the bishop of *Romes* cause, and so little in the other (although by no meanes their doinges tended to the vniuersall abrogating of the popes auctoritie) that he refused so muche as to put his name, or suffer him selfe to be named in those lettres of theirs. So that before yow had charged *M. D. Harding* thus odioply, you ought to haue proued that suche a decree was made in the *African* councell, and haue noted to vs the canon, then that *Orosius* and *Prosper* were present at the making thereof, and gaue their consentes thereto: Last, because yow seing that the decree of the councell was not to be founde, referred youre selfe to the epistle written to *Celestinus*, yow shoulde haue tolde vs in what wordes there the mention of this decree laie hidden, and proued although *S. Austens* name be not there mentioned, that yeat he consented thereto. Againe *M. Nowell*, whe this matter betwene the *B. of Rome* and the *Africanes* began first to be called in question, it was entreated with suche humilitie and submission by the *Africanes*, as

A DISPROVVE OF M.

Lye. 43.

appeareth by this epistle to *Celestinus*, that they coulde by no meanes be accounted schismatikes. Afterwardes in dede the matter grewe so farre, that it burst out in to open schisme, and so continued to the time of Boniface the 2. To the which schisme that ever *S. Austen*, *Orosius*, or *Prosper* consented, or any other good catholike prieste or bishop, yow shall neuer be able to proue. And so this lye with that hounge heape of all the rest remaineth with you, and the truth with vs. But because you bragge as you doe of the companie of *S. Austen* and *Prosper*, and sclaundre them to the worlde to be schismatikes: I will in defence of their innocency alleage out of their workes so muche, as shall I trust with the better sorte suffice for their purgation.

August.
epist. 162.

Lib. 1. contra
tra 2. epis.
Pelag. ca. 1

Psalm
contra par-
te Donat.

Lib. contra
Collatorem
cap. 41.

Lib. contra
Collatorem
cap. 10.

Who is it I praie you *M. Nowell* that saith of the church of Rome, that in it *the principalitie of the apostolike chaire hath ever flourished*? Who calleth *Bonifacius*, (the same in whose time this controuersie was moued) *the bishoppe that hathe the preeminence in the bishoply care aboute all other*? Who calleth the See of Rome (alluding to the wordes of *Christe* in the gospel) *the rock which the proude gates of hell shal not ouercome*? Who but *S. Austen*, whom you be not here ashamed to matche with your selfe, as thinking of the pope and See of Rome as heretically as you doe. To come to *Prosper*, when you here him acknowledg, that *Zozimus* (of whom all this talke riseth) added to the decrees of the African councelles, *sententia sua robur*, the strength and force of his sentences: that with *Peters* sworde to the cutting of, of wicked men be armed the right bandes of all bishoppes, (for so are his wordes in Latine) *ad impiorum detractionem gladio Petri dexteris omnium armavit antistitem*. When you are not ignoraunt (if you knowe anye thinge) that the same *Prosper* saith, that the holie See of Rome spake to all the worlde by the mouthe

of

of *Zozimus*: Will you not for shame call backe againe that wretched sclaunderouse lye off youres, that Prosper shoulde be touching the bishoppe of Rome of the same minde that yow are, ? Was *Zozimus* taken off Prosper to be a corrupter and falsarye, a countrefeite catholike, and in deede a false schismatike from Christe and the truthe, as youre venimouse tongue hath not feared to pronounce of him? Is fier more contrary to water then is this iudgemēt of youres, to that of Prosper for his vertue and auctoritie? You pretend that the fathers of the coūcel of Carthage would barre *Zozimus* of al auctority: Prosper telleth vs that so much he was esteemed of them, that they had *the strength of his sentence added to their decrees*, as much to saye, as to confirme and allowe them. You call him a corrupter, a falsarie, a countrefeite catholike, a false schismatike: Prosper calleth him one *that armed the right bandes of al bishoppes with Peters sworde to cut of wicked mē* from the rest of Christes mystical body the church. You restreine his power to Rome: Prosper confesseth *that by his mouthe the See of Rome spake to all the worlde*. If this be not more then impudencie good reader in M. Nowel, then what is impudencie I confesse I know not.

But acknowledged Prosper this auctoritie in *Zozimus* onely ? no verilye. For in *Celestinus* to whome this epistle here mentioned was sent from the African bishoppes, he witnesseth that there was suche power, *that he cured the I-land off Britannye infected with Pelagius heresie, that he ordained Palladius bishoppe over the Scottishe men, that with the Apostolicall sworde he aided Cirillus the B. of Alexandria, to purge the churches of the East of a double plague, the Nestorians and Pelagians: that in Fraunce he put them to silence who reported euill of S. Augustins writings. Finally to them that reiected certeine bookes of S. Augustins vpon*
pre-

The poem
med-
dled in
England,
Scotland,
Fraunce,
and in
the East.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

An excep-
tion in
the primi-
tive chur-
che again-
ste bookes
that they
were not
allowed
by the
Pope.
Ibid. ca. 43

* Note.

pretence that they were not allowed by the pope, he answered in this wise: *Agnoscat calumniatores superfluo se obijcere, quod his libris non speciale neque discretum testimonium sit perhibitum, quorum in cunctis voluminibus norma laudatur. Apostolica enim sedes quod a praecognitis sibi non discrepat, cum praecognitis probat, & quod iudicio iungit, laude non diuidit.* That is to saie: Let these wranglers knowe, that they obiekt superfluously that there is no speciall nor seuerall testimonie giuen to these bookes, the rule and doctrine whereof is praised in all bookes. * For the Apostolicall See alloweth with those bookes that it knewe before, those that differ not from the, and those which it ioyneth together in iudgement it seperateth not in praise. Nowe to conclude M. Nowell, are you no otherwise a schismaticke thinke yow then S. Augustine, and Prosper? I woulde to God ye were not. Then woulde you acknowledge with S. Augustine a preeminence in the B. of Rome aboue other bishoppes, the seate of Rome to be suche as hell gates shall not preuaile against it. Then woulde you submit to the pope your doinges to be alowed, as bothe S. Augustine and the whole counsell of Afrike did: then woulde you extend the iurisdiction of that See to England, Scotland, Fraunce, and to the Easte churches. Then woulde you confesse that the B. of Rome for the time being is the mouthe to speake to all the worlde, and beareth the sworde of Peter to cut of wicked men, to helpe and arme the good. For all these thinges doe S. Austen (as hath bene declared) and Prosper acknowledge. Whereby appeareth, howe shamefully you haue slandered them with the maintenaunce of your schismaticall and erronious opinions concerning the See of Rome. To S. Augustine, Orosius, and Prosper, you ioyne the patriarches of Alexandria and Constantinople, Cirillus, and Atti-

ans. But why them I praie you M. Nowell? Because in those canons that they sent there was no mentiō of that which the B. of Rome alleaged. I graunte you, for they were burned by the Arrians as by the reporte of *Athanasius* yowe hearde before. And must they nedes be schismatikes with yowe because the Arrians burned the true copies of the councell of Nice, and they sent suche as they had? Howe holdeth that argument I praie yow? Well, yow thought euerie thing woulde helpe and therefore yow iumbled all together, let it speede as it might.

* Nowe to returne to the African councell, and to conclude in fewe wordes all that hath bene or maie hereafter by me be saide therein: I first saie that the African councell made no suche decree as yow saie it did: nexte that at this time when S. Austen and the other bishoppes of Africa were assembled, about the time of *Bonifacius* the pope the firste, the controuersie was not about the vniuersall auctoritie of the B. of Rome, but touching the moderation and limiting thereof in certeine causes of appellation. The like whereunto as it hath bene attempted and done in this realme of England, in the daies of that noble prince Edward the thirde, by restraining the popes power in conferring of ecclesiasticall promotions, and barring the triall of certeine sutes out of the realme, without breache of vnitie, or renouncing due obedience to that See: so was it at the beginning in Afrike, although after it brake out in to an open schisme. Thirdly I answere, that if there had bene suche a decree made as is pretended, yea this considered that it had but the auctoritie of one prouince, it ought to giue place to that councell, at the which there were present bishoppes, not of Africa only, who were also there, but off all the partes of the worlde beside: I meane the councell of *Sardica*,

* The answer
to the obiection
made of the
African
councell.

1.

2.

E. 3. d. 27.
25. 7. 27.

3.

Cc

in

A DISPROVE OF M.

in the third and 7. canon whereof (the bishoppes of *Africa* consenting thereto) 300. if you go to nombring M. Nowell for your 217., and chosen men all of purpose to matche with the Arrians , agreed vpon this which the *Africanes* denied, to wit, that it should be lafull for any bishop condemned to appeale to the bishop of Rome. Last of all, iff you thinke M. Nowell that it maie be lafull for you to obiekt against vs the fafte of the *Africanes* , who vpon suche beginning as hath bene declared came at the last to open rebellion against their lafull heade, I doubt not but to all that be learned or wise , it will seme as reasonable , that we obiekt to yow againe, the perfecte reconciliation and humble submission of the saide *Africanes*, made after a hundred yeares wandring a straie, after greate plagues by lōgue captiuitie, vnder the moſte barbarouse and cruell *Wandales*, by *Eulalius* the Archebishop of Carthage in the name of that whole prouince, to *Bonifacius* then pope, the seconde off that name. Thus muche touching the *African* councell, It foloweth.

Epistol.
Bonifacij
2. ad Eu-
laliū A-
lexand.
Tom. 2.
Concil.

Nowell.
b. 14.

After this *Zozimus* , his ſucceſſour *Bonifacius* the firſte, *Celeſtine* the firſt, with all others almoſte, folowing *Zozimus* ſteppes and ambition, haue with toothe and naile ſtriuē for this ſupremacie, and for that purpoſe did ſticke ſtill to the falſified *Nicene* canon, and haue likewiſe falſified other councelles in ſundrie places, and haue forged a greate many of the epiſtles nowe abroad, in the names of the olde popes, *Clement*, *Anacletus*, *Euariſtus*, *Teleſphorus* and other their predeceſſours.

Dorman.

Suerlye M. Nowell if there had bene that ſinceritie in yow and vprightnes that ſhoulde be in a diuine: yff that grauitie and poſſe that ſhoulde be in a writer: yff that common honeſtie, that ſhoulde be in euerie Chriſtian man: yow woulde either for the one reſpect or the other, haue ſo tempered youre ſtile, that there ſhoulde neuer haue ſlip-
ped

ped from youre pen into the viewe of the worlde, suche cancred and rancorouse slaunders against suche learned and vertuouse fathers, so sclendrelie yea by no meanes at all proued. Bring furthe the canons therefore that yow saye haue bene falsified: name the popes that haue forged these epistles? Name them not onelie but proue it, otherwise yow wilbe taken for a maliciouse Lier. Thinke yow that it maye be sufficient for yow to borowe this oute off Caluins Institutions, and without anie farder proufe bid all the worlde beleue you? Yow be not Caluin M. Nowell, nor England is not *Geneua* God be praised therefore? But yow proue it thus.

Lib. 4.
Inst. cap.
8. sect. 11.

Whereas euer those godlye olde fathers euer subiect to persecution and deathe, neuer thought of anie suche matters, neither had lust or leisour to occupie their heades and pennes aboute such ambitiouise matters.

Nowell.
fo. 48. a. 3.

You are foulie deceauid M. Nowel: for the greater the persecution was, the more necessarie must it nedes be, to teache that ordre which Christe left in his church of the necessitie of one heade, that so the membres acknowleging the same, might be out of the feare of all schismaticall discord. Neither made they so often mention thereof for ambition sake, as youre spiders nature sucketh out, hauing learned at their Maisters handes before, that the greatest amongest them shoulde belike the least. Who seeth not that by suche foolish collections as this is, a frowarde heretike might denie S. Pauls epistles to the Corinthiās, especiallly the Latter, in the which (the case so requiring) he glorieth so farre, that him selfe confesseth that he hath played the foolle compelled thereto by them. Ywisse S. Paule was as much subiect to persecution and deathe as anie of the popes that you haue named. He had as litle lust or leisour to occupie

Dorman.

Luce. 22.

2. Corinth.
cap. 11. 12.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

his heade or pen about the setting furthe of him selfe, to boaste of his apostleship, to tel of his reuelations, as anie of them. But necessitie compelling bothe him and them to stande vpon their auctoritie, it was expedient that they shoulde earnestlie set furthe the same. The epistles that you speake of here to haue bene forged, were gathered together aboue nine hundred yeares past by one *Isidorus*, archebishop of Hispalis in Spaine, so that when you come to proue this matter, those popes of these latter nine hundred yeares you see how they be discharged. Now M. Nowell, if you thinke that you haue walcked long inough out of the waye, we will returne thither from whence we departed, to the. 53. Lease of youre booke. The which because as the reader maye see, it conteineth nothing but very matter of bragges not worthy to be answered, I steppes ouer.

Of schismes and sectes wherewith M. Nowell
burdeneth the Catholikes.

The 17. Chapitre.

Nowell.
fol. 54. a.

HERE M. Nowell by occasion of a fewe lines (but such belike as touched him to the quicke and made him to wynse) discourseth in manie leaues in defence of schismes and sectes. This note of mine, whereby I admonished the reader for better credite to be giuen hereafter to the auncient fathers: Cypriā and Hierom, (who telling vs that the not obeing of one chiefe heade in one seuerall diocesse is the cause of schismes and heresies, saye withall although not in expresse wordes as muche by force of greater reason, vnlesse there be one suche heade acknowledged and obeyed in the vniforme gouernement of the whole church) to haue an eye to the present schismes, whiche haue
burst

burst in vpon vs in oure countrie, in stede of one commo
receiued truthe in the daies of oure fathers: this note I saie,
so graueled M. Nowell, rubbing him on the verie heade of
that festred boile of his poisoned heresie, that he coule
finde no ground to stande vpon, but nedes must he sling
out and laie about him, as a man halfe wood, and beside
him selfe, sparing none, not the blessed Apostles them sel-
ues. He beginneth this pastime after his accustomed ma-
ner, with this Lewde lye.

It is well known that there is as much consent in true do-
ctrine in the churche of Englande at this time, as euer was in anie
realme at anie time.

Nowell.
A facing
lye. 44.

What a face thinke you hath this man, or hath he anie
face or forheade at all? I will not trouble him with forein
realmes, shewing him what consent in true doctrine the-
re is presently in manie Catholike countries, nor I will
not appeale to all the former ages that haue passed. I will
only put him in remembraunce, of the consent in true
doctrine in oure owne countrie fifty yeares ago. Can you
saye M. Nowel (for with you I loue gladliest to talcke) that
there was then anie dissention in doctrine at all? Can yow
reken vs vp anie diuersitie of opinions touching belife
in all the realme of England at that time? Will you saie
they had no true doctrine at all, and therefore no consent
in true doctrine? If you saie so, then name vs a time when
there was euer true doctrine in Englande, that suche a time
being knowne, it maie be proued vnto you, that there
were no suche sectes and schismes then, as rage amongst
you now. Note vnto vs the yeare and religion vsed at any
tyme since oure realme was firste christened, when yow
write nexte, that we maye aske you whether at that tyme
Cañtorbury, Rochester, Glocestre, were of one opinio co-

Dormans.

cerning the presence of Christes most blessed body & bloude in the sacramēt, and Londō, Winchester, and Dirham, of a cleane contrary, as they are nowe that occupye these roomes. Who hathe not hearde of a sermon latelye preached before the Queenes maiestye in the defence of the reall presence, and the preacher called of his brethern for his labour *an asse in a Rether*, the Sermon it selfe, by a mighty Samson shortly after as it seemed confuted? Is this a consent in true doctrine M. Nowell? Haue you not hearde off these Sermones? Or if you hearde them did you nodde there while, and beare so litle awaye, that you haue cleane forgotten the whole matter, telling vs nowe scarce oute of youre sleepe, that you haue as muche consent in true doctrine as euer was in anye realme at anye tyme? How many of youre brethern be of Verons minde touching predestination? Let M. Moulines the vsurper of the Archedeaconry of London youre neighbour, tell you M. Nowell, why he did excommunicate M. Thomas Walbot a minstre in London. Let the saide Walbot instructe you who they are that in his learned supplication to M. Doctour Parker, he calleth Florinitians. Tell vs M. Nowell whereof it procedeth, that three of the moste graue, modeste, and learned emongest yow, men, to saye the truthe, in all respectes (heresy set a parte) worthy to beare the office off true bishoppes in Christes churche, are of their subiectes so contemptuouslye set at naught: whereof I saye it procedeth, that one is called Matthewe meale mouthe, a Lincwolfsy bishoppe &c. that the other hathe Moyer the minstre of Wootton vnder headge borne out against him, the thirde termed an Asse, but of this that there be schismes and sectes emongest you? Are you ignoraunt M. Nowell what cōmunion M. Whittingham celebrated at Duresme, not

M.D.
Parker.
M. Chey-
ny.
M. Gest.

not onely against the mynde of his bishoppe, but the ordre appointed also by the communion booke? Neuer hearde you what a singuler and straunge maner off baptisme he deuised and ministred at Durelme? Is al this in your eye consent in true doctrine, when you agree not emongst youre selues neither in the substance of the chiefest Sacramentes, neither in the maner of their ministration? Are we ignoraunt thinke you of the Anabaptistes, Arrians, Eluidians, and whole swarmes of these and other heretikes, that lye smothering in corners looking for the ioyfull tyme of their deliuerance in to the world and broade light, as you and youre felowes did 30. yeares ago? Are we ignoraunt thereof, because when some of them stirring before their tyme are brought before youre bishoppes, they are with good wordes (of greate policie) dismissed, with exhortation to them to lyue lyke quiet subiectes, &c. Lest suche hastie and vntimely reeving, might be not onely the vtter ruine and ouerthrowe of all those heresyces that hanning nowe continued almost twentie yeares begin to growe to mannes state, but of so muche faire issue also as that cursed moother is lyke to bring furthe hereafter? Indge you vs to be suche doltes, and so deprived of common sense, that we vnderstand not to what ende the fauour shewed to an Anabaptist, an Eluidian or anye other heretike, for the crueltie practised on the catholike, tendeth? Argueth it not to the worlde that you seke rather meanes politicely for the tyme to staye them, then vterly for euer to repress them?

Well, thus muche off youre priuate dissensions, and lurking heresies (whereof one of late in spite of all polycie sustaining to abyde no longre burst oute) hath the blaste off common fame blowen ouer to vs. What other priuie store
of

Verones
heresie
touching
practise
nation.

ADISPROVFE OF M.

of opinions and severall doctrines maye be founde emong you, they knowe best that best are acquainted with you. We as we can not knowe all, so we can not reporte all. This that hathe bene brought is sufficient to proue yowe M. Nowell a lowde lyer, vntill you shewe the like to haue bene emongest vs before your heresies began. The whiche because yow dispaired to be euer able to doe (for yow confesse hereafter that there was at that time a coloured kinde off quietnesse emongest vs, fol. 56.b.) Yow bethought yow off a better councell, that is, to saye that emongest the Apostles of Christe, the learned fathers of the councell off Nice, and other off no lesse fame in Christes church, there haue bene also schismes and sectes. Your wordes are these.

Nowell.

And though there were not a perfecte consent of all men in all pointes, what merueile yeat were it, if that shoulde happen emongest vs, which was not altogether lacking emongest the Apostles them selues, &c.

Dorman.

*Stephanus
in Epist.
ad Episcopos
Bysantios.*

This impudent and blasphemouse shifte you haue borrowed of your Apologie, the Apologie of Iohn Calvin, he of that greate Lombard the diuell him selfe. But here I beseeche the confidra with me good reader, what either a miserable and detestable religiō is this, either elles what weak but shamelesse patrones hathe it founde, when suche faultes as be noted therein can no otherwise be excused, but by sclaundring moste wickedly the learned doctours of the church, the generall councelles of the same. yea the moste blessed and gloriouse apostles them selues. Tell these newe gospellers that whereas the church of Christe is a citie builded vpon the toppe of a hill, a candell set in the house to giue light to all that be in it: a kingdome that reacheth from sea to sea, and from the East to the west, that their

Matth. 5.

Luce 11.

Psalm. 71.

their church that they boast of is a secrete scattred congregation vnknewen to all the worlde and to them selues too, yow shall haue a peuishe proctour steppe furthe and answere as M. Nowell dyd before: we take this obiection as no reproche being common to oure congregation with the primitive church of oure sauour Christe and his holie apostles, specially in the time of persecution. Charge them as I doe here with schismes, and you haue hearde the answere thereto already. The reporter whereof and as manie as before haue vsed this and like defences: I can resemble to no worldly thing better, then to a filthy and beastly sowe, who being fowle and bemired her selfe, neuer careth to be cleane, but fodeth on still in the durte beraing all thinges that she meeteth or rubbeth her selfe vpon, as these schismaticall proctours doe, not caring so muche to purge them selues, as to laie their filthe vpon other that be cleane, and to make them to mble and walowe in the mire as they doe. Now to this blasphemouse shift because it is in the confutation of the Apologie so learnedly answered, I will saie no more, but that it is mozte directly repugnant to the holie scriptures, which beare witnesse, that *crederentur ei cor vnu & anima vna*. Those which beleued (at the first preaching of the Apostles) were of one harte and of one minde. It tendeth openly to the defacing of that marcke which Christe as of all other the mozte certeine and suer to discerne those which are his, gaueto his disciples, when commending peace and vnitie he tolde them: *In hoc cognoscet omnes quia mei discipuli estis si diligatis inuicem*. In this (marcke) shall all men knowe that you are my disciples if you loue together: that finally it commeth from the ethnike and heathen spirit of certeine vaine philosophers as witnesseth the learned father Cirillus the B. of Alexandria, who made in his

D d time

Supra fol.
39. a. 32.

In the 3.
parte fol.
136. and
seq.

1.

11. 4.

The Apostles
varied doe
in doctrine.

2.

100. 13.

3.

M. Nowell char-
geth the
Apostles,
as the hea-
then phi-
losophers
dyd.

Lib. 1. con-
tra Iulianū

A DISPROVE OF M^r NOWELL

time this verie obiection that M. Nowell nowe dothe. The
which place maie it please the learned reader to viewe and
there shall he finde, that this good bishop was so assured of
that perfecte agreement of the Apostles, that he was not a-
fearde to make the offer to those vaine philosophers (that
so reasoned with him as M. Nowell dothe with me) to lea-
ue to defende them anie farder, in case they could proue
anie disagreement emongest them in doctrine. Nowe that
yow haue done with the Apostles, yow come to the fa-
thers and doctours of Christes church, of whome yow
saye.

Nowell.
Beholde
an arro-
gant spi-
rite, taking
vpon him
to iudge
and repre-
hende, the
most ver-
tuouse
and lear-
ned bi-
shoppes of
the east
and west
church.
Dorman.

What wondre if that were emongest vs touching some pointes,
that was not wanting in the primitiue church emongest the olde
fathers? Let the variance emongest the bishoppes assembled at
Nicene councell: let the contention betwene the bishoppes of the
east and west church about the keeping of Easter daye, a matter
not worthy of such variance, be a witnesse thereof.

This vaine obiection, borrowed also of youre Apologie,
as is almost altogether what so euer yow haue here pat-
ched vp in five leaues concerning this matter of schismes,
is in the answer thereto made, abundantly satisfied. Thither
I referre the (good reader) where as thou maiest finde,
that some of these controuerfies here mentioned by M.
Nowell were of matters indifferent and not determined by
the church, other some not of doctrine or religion, but of
private quarells, as happened emongest the fathers in the
councell of Nice: finally, some such, as be schismes (if they
be schismes at all) in logike; not in diuinitie or matters of
fathe: so in matters of weight arrested vpon by the deter-
mination of the church, such strifes can not be named,
neither by this schismaticall proctour neither yet by anye
other. So greate cause we haue to giue thanks to allmigh-
tie

the God the preseruer of his church, who hath so mightily defended the same, that when schismatikes and heretikes haue done all that they can, for the better cloking of their dissension, to proue the like in the fathers and learned doctours that haue gone before, they being not able with all that malice can deuise or falsehode inuent to spotte them there with, are compelled at the last with shame inough to twichte this greatesse pest to a pudding pricke, saing that there be schismes amongest the catholikes about *Genus* and *Species*, and the rest of the predicables, because forsothe some men be of one minde about them, and are called by a name agreeable to their opinion, *Nominals*: other some off an other minde, and be called *Realles*. But yow haue better stuffe then this yow will saie, for yow aske.

What be these Benedictines, Cistercijs, Carmelites, Carthusians, Dominicans, Franciscanes, with others like an huge nombre but names of popishe schismes and sectes? Who all forsaking the religion and name of Christe, haue chosen to be called religious, as by a speciall name of a seuerall religion, and to be named after men their fathers on earthe, forsaking the heavenly father &c.

Nowell.
34. b. 25.

Matth. 23.

Dorman.

That whereof youre Apologie for shame woulde saie nothing, you, so muche are you one alone more impudent then so manie as were the compilers thereof, set out to the vauntage making a greatesse matter thereof. Your Apologie saith, I saie nothing of so manie diuersties of friers and mockes. You saie, they shall not escape youre handes so. You call their names, the names of popishe schismes and sectes, their persones you charge with the forsaking of the name and religion of Christe &c. Had it not bene better for you M. Nowell to haue imitated also the countrefeit modestie of youre Apologie rather then by such vnmercifull dealinge to slander and beelye youre Christian brethren?

Dd 2

Thought

A DISPROVE OF M.

Religion
monumen-
tes fo. 1173
b.

Religion
hath two
significa-
tions.

Thought you that you should be able to make anie honest nature beleue, that these religiousse men whome you here name, professing to be of this, or that ordre, shoulde in so doing for sake bothe the religion and name of Christe? What is, if this be not an impudent lye, of all other that I have heard, moſte like to that made by youre felowe Fox, when he ſaieth that Bradforde was charged by the Quenes council that then was, emongest other thinges with the beleuing and preaching of Christe crucified. What will these lieng Maisters be ashamed to ſeine that vtter ſuche vntruthes as these are? It is false that you ſaie (to colour the better youre ſlaunderouſſe reporte) that they haue choſen to be called religiousse as by a ſpeciall name of a ſeueral religion. For as the religion is not ſeueral but the ſame that is common to all true Christians: ſo neuer gaue the profeſſours thereof anie ſuche name to them ſelues to be called religiousse. The vniforme conſent it is of good men thorough out all the worlde that hath giuen them that name, as to thoſe that hauing choſen a kinde of life more ſtreighter and painefull the the common ſorte of men haue done, the rather to attaine to the perfection (as muche as mannes infirmitie wil ſuffer in this life) of that one religion which we all profeſſe: haue ſemed beſt worthy thereof. It is the maner therefore of conuerſation and liuing in this one common religion, that ſeuereſſe the folowers thereof from the reſt, nor religion it ſelfe. Religion hath two ſignifications M. Nowell. The one concerneth faith, and ſo there is in all the worlde but one religion, to witte of the catholike Christians, S. Auſten noteth: the other pertaineth to vertue and good life. And ſo there are bothe diuerſities and degrees of religion, as the ſame S. Auſten reconing vp Anachorettes, Eremites, Cloiſter monckes, nonnes, and colle-

and from theistime continued in the church till oures,
as the stories of all ages beare witness, hath bene by good
men alwayes honoured, by tirantes and infidelles wondred
at, even by the worst kinde of men well spoken of, onely
proude protestants, and licentious Libertines, who neither
can say well nor doe well, call it schismatical, terme it a for
saking of Christes name and religion. Whereof as we ha
ue here by one of them a glimmeting in generall wordes:
so hath his felow given vs a perfect sight and full vie
we thereof, in the combate that he kepeth with the blessed
spirit of that holly saincte, then whome since the Apostles
syne I maye be bold to saye, there liued not one that ex
pressed more nare the lyfe and conuersation of oure sa
uiour S. Francis him selfe. He calleth him Affian affe
(because he was borne in a towne called Affian) rude
adior, and Frantike frauncis: him selfe being as verie an affe
rior, and was breache in the mountaines of Arcadia, for so fa
ing a right riot for calling the wisdom of God fool
ishnes, and if not when he made that bouge donghill,
yeat surely at that time when he imagined him selfe to be
an Vntrall frantike Fox. And why giueth he to him these
reprochefull titles I praye you? Forsothe he calleth him Af
se, rude Ideot &c. because (I will use his owne wordes)
hearing ypon hym howe Christ sent furthe his disciples to pre
ache he thought to imitate the same in him selfe, and his disciples,
and left off shoes, and but one coate, and that of vile clothe, in ste
de of a lather to wash, and of a girdle he took aboute him an
henpen corde, and apperled his disciples, teaching them to
tullill (for so he speaketh) the perfection of the gospell, to appre
hende pouertie, and to walke in the waye of holly simplicitie. He
flourish winning to his disciples and followers, his rule, which he cal
led a rule of simplicitie, i. the rule of the gospell, as though the gospell
of Christ were not a sufficient rule to all Christian men but it must
take his perfection of frantike Frauncis. Hetherto this frantike fox.
Now

Fox ke
peth a co
bate with
S. Francis
in his hel
tes and
monume
tes fol 76

1. Cor. 3.

Foxes te
stimonie
of Saint
Francis.

Now whether these be iust causes to storne and toke on as
 he dothe against this blessed sainte (for either these be the
 causes or he giueth none at all) let the wise and godly reader
 iudge. Whereas he calleth him frantike, for calling his rule
 the rule of the ghospel, what woulde he haue sayed of him,
 if he had termed it a rule of mannes intention, which now
 we rage so for calling it the rule of the ghospel? But he
 quarelleth with him, because by this rule giuen by him to
 his disciples it shoulde seme that the ghospel of Christe
 were not a sufficient rule &c. O fonde man. By that mea-
 nes might he also call S. Paule frantike, for writing: *Folow
 me brethern, and marke them whiche walke so, as we haue gi-
 uen you the example.* As though the example of Christe
 were not sufficient, but it must take his perfection in saint
 Paule. For euen as S. Paule willed the *Philippenses* none o-
 therwise to folowe him, then as he folowed Christe: so did
 saint Frauncis giue no other rule then Christe had giuen
 before, as the title of his rule it selfe dothe declare. And as
 S. Paule willed them to folowe him because he folowed
 Christ, so deliuered S. Frauncis to those that would folowe
 him, that rule of Christe to be embrased, in such sorte as
 he had giuen them the example before. This fox runneth
 on his course, and spareth not with his tale to caste his vil-
 ne in mennes eyes. For he addeth: This Frauncis as he was su-
 perstitious in casting all thinges from him, euen also the girdle,
 girding a coarde aboute him: so in outwarde chastising of him sel-
 fe: so streight he was to him selfe (leaving the ordinary remedye
 appointed by God) that in winter season he couered his bodye
 with yfe and shewe. He called pouerish madie, he kept nothing
 ouer night. Merueile not nowe good reader, if M. Nowell
 call religious men popishe schismes and sectes, if he char-
 ge them with forsaking the religion and name of Christe,
 when thou hearest the abandoning and casting awaye of
 world-

Philipp. 3.

Fox coun-
 teth it su-
 perstition
 to cast
 awaye
 worldly
 Goddes.

worldly gooddes, the embracing of povertie, the free committing of a mannes selfe to Goddes providence, without carcke or care what shall become of him on the morowe (according to Christes owne counsell) the chastising off the bodye to make it seruiseable to the spirite, yfed by saint Paule, when I saye thou hearest all this expressly called superstition, cease to merueile anye longer. Of this blessed saincte S. Frauncis, I could saie muche listed I to make impertinent discourses. Although of his vertue and holynesse there can be no greater testimonie, then that his ennemies them selues can finde nothing to obiekt against him but that which Chirste and his Apostles taught and practised, and euerye good man shoulde wishe to be in him selfe. For which cause *Henricus Pantaleon* an heretike as M. Fox is, but yeat of a more calmer spirite, speaking of him in hys *Chronographie*, yfeth these wordes: *S. Franciscus Assisium Hispanus sanctitate & eruditione illustris in Italia claret*, S. Frauncis a spaniarde of the towne of *Assisium*, famouse for his holynesse and learning flourisheth in Italie. Wel yow see good readers what *Nowelles* oure vnhappye age that can abide nothing that well is, hath brought furthe. Yow see what *saxen* Sathan the master of the game hath vnkenelled in oure countrie of England to destroye oure Lordes vineyarde. Yow are not ignorant what flesheflies and canon crowes haue builded their neastes euen in the churche off God. Oure Lorde graunte vs as we see them and knowe them, so to flee them and auoide them. But now to returne to M. Nowell, some man maie happely aske me what answer I make to the scripture noted here in the margēt forbidding expressly that we call not men oure fathers on earthe which these ordres of religious men doe. To this I answer with *Euthimius*, *Theophylact*, and *S. Hierom* ypo
-show
this

Math. 19.
or 6.

1. Cor. 9.

pg. 95.

Fol. 54. b.

31.

Math. 23.

this place, that we are not by these wordes forbidden to call them that begot vs either to the worlde by the fleshe, or to God by the spirite, fathers. The wordes of Euthimius are these. *Hoc dixit non prohibens vocari patres eos qui iuxta carnem genuerunt &c.* This Christ spake, not forbidding them to be called fathers who haue begotten other either carnally or spiritually, but that we might knowe who is chiefly and as the verie first cause to be called oure father. For that father of oures is god only that is in heauen: they that begette vs after the fleshe or after the spirite, be workers together with God and ministres rather of oure natiuitie. He saith therefore, call none youre father in earthe, as youre chiefe father, and first cause (of youre being) for that father is but one which is in heauen. With Euthimius agreeth Theophilact, saing of this place. *Nō vt neminē patrem vocent, sed ne ignorent quem principaliter patrem vocare oporteat.* Not that we shoulde call no man father, but that we shoulde not be ignorant whome we ought specially to call fathers S. Hierome moueth this verie obiection vpon this place, Howe then the monckes of Aegypt, and Palestina were called fathers, how S. Paule contrary to this precepte (forbidding aswell the name of maister as of father) called him selfe the maister of the gentiles. To the whiche he answereth agreing with Euthimius and Theophilact, that there is one principall maister, one speciall father, that all other be fathers and maisters, but not properly. Thus called S. Paul the Corinth. His children and him selfe their father. Thus called the monckes in S. Austens tyme their heades fathers. Thus call those of S. Benedicte his ordre S. Benedict their father, because Christ wrought by him as an instrumēt this spirituall birthe in them. Thus doe the Cisterrians, Carmelites, Chartusians, Franciscans, with the rest. Emongest whome I can not but note how

Euthimius
Theophi-
lactus, Hie-
ron. in. ca.
Matth. 23.

2. Cor. 5.

1. Cor. 4.

Lib. de
morib. eccl.
cathol. cap.
34.

A DISPROVE OF M.

warely and wisely yow passed ouer the Augustines, lest yow shoulde either haue bene driven to make S. Austen the auctor of a popishe and schismaticall secte, or elles be compelled to recant youre wordes. Nowe for answer to youre scripture moste vnruly applied, I saye, that in that sense which Christe forbiddeth vs to call men oure fathers, that is as oure chiefe and speciall fathers, either carnall or spirituall, the Benedictines, Cisterians Carmelites &c. neuer called anie man their father, acknowledging allwaies and confessing, that that father is but one, god him selfe which is in heauen. M. Nowell marching on lustely in his lies and vntrue application of scripture, addeth:

Nowell.
fol. 55. a. 1.
1. Cor. 1.

And continuing and accōplishing the schisme first begonne in S. Paules time, after the example of those who saied, I am off Paule, I of Cephas, I of Apollo, saing I am of Dominicke, I of Benedicte, I of Frauncis, who also maie directly answer S. Paule asking, was Paule or anie other sauing only Christe crucified for yow? Yea maie the franciscanes saie, S. Frauncis was crucified for vs of his familie, and beholde the woundes in his side, handes, and feete.

Dorman.

It lotheth me to see howe shamefully yow abuse the moste holie and sacred scriptures. The schisme that was emongest the Corinthians was in a most necessary point of doctrine, to witte, about the grace conferred in the sacrament of baptisme, each of them thinking that the vertue thereof depended vpon the excellencie of the minstre that ministred it, as bothe by the texte it selfe and the iudgement of S. Austen thereupon is moste evidently to be seene. Nowe is this diuersitie of professions in religious men, not in doctrine or faithe as was theirs, but in maner and trade of life, which allthough it be in some streighter, in other some looser, yeat because all tende to one ende, that is to the perfection of the ghospell, allthough not by one

De predef.
sanctorum
cap. 5. lib.
3. contra.
Erescon.
Grammat.
cap. 13.

one meanes, and agree beside in the three substantiall pointes of their profession, chastitie, pouertie, and obedience: yow can by no meanes call them schismes. It is a fowle lye therefore M. Nowell, that yow labour here to colour with the pretense of goddes worde, to saie that religiousse men doe folowe the example of those, who saide I am of Paule, I of Cephas &c. Who agreeing all in one faith and doctrine, how euer they differ in certeine outwarde obseruations, saye not neither (as yow also vntruly reporte) I am of Dominike, I off Benedicte &c. But I am of that ordre that S. Dominike was, that is to saie, I haue professed to serue God in suche sorte as S. Dominike while he liued did, and so of the rest: none of them in the meane season preferring their patrones the one before the other, or iudging them selues to be the better for folowing this rule or that, but leauing the iudgement thereof to him who in the daye of the reuelation of his iust iudgement shall giue to euery one according to his worckes. To conclude therefore, you haue here in eight lines made no fewer the six lies. The first is in calling the diuerse ordres of religion that are in the church popishe schismes. The seconde in saing that the professours therof haue forsaken Christes religi6. The 3. that they haue forsaken his name. The 4. that they haue chosen to be called religiousse. The 5. that they haue chosen to be so called by a speciall name of a severall religion, is a lye, if you meane (as it is to be thought you doe, for otherwise it is no schisme) by the worde religion, religion in faith, or in maners or trade of life. The sixte, that you charge the to folowe the exaple of the schismatikes of S. Pauls time, betwene whome there is no maner of resemblaunce at al, as hath bene declared. So that now hauing quit your selfe like a proptre man in these fewe lines, you will take a

Row. 2.
Six lies in
8. lynes.

1. }
2. }
3. }
4. }
5. } 50

6. }

A DISPROVVE OF M.

conscience to lye anie more for a while, and therefore you dare not precisely affirme, that the franciscanes doe saye that S. Frauncis was crucified for them, but saie that they maie saie so. Blessed be God you can not charge them M. Nowell that anie suche thing they doe saie, whiche seing you can not, how holdeth the argument I praie you, whereby you proue them schismatikes suche as were in S. Pauls time, because they maie so saye? Nowe M. Nowel what maie not you saye, and so proue your selfe, not only a schismatike, but also an heretike if all thinges whiche you maie saye you should be also charged in dede to saye? You maie saye (for some of your schoole felowes haue saide so much before you) that to worship the name of the blessed Trinitie, is to imagine falsely three Goddes: you maye saie and must saye if you will folowe your Maister Calvin, that God is the auctor of their damnation that are damned: woulde you nowe be contented because you maye saie thus, and yeat woorse toe, if woorse maye be, that one shoulde conclude against you that you be a schismatike or an heretike. And yeat who seeth not, that suche a conclusion were muche more liker to be true, youre felowes and Maister hauing taught suche opinions before, then this wherewith you burden these pore Franciscanes, of whome there was neuer yeat anie I beleue that had so idle a braine, as to imagine so vainely of S. Frauncis and wickedly bothe, as you haue done. You procede in your pastime and saye,

Lucas
Sternber-
ger of o-
muluke
in Mora-
uia Sta-
phil. in
Englishe
fol. 112. a.
Iustit. li. 3.
cap. 23.

Nowell.

If S. Paule aske againe, is Iesus Christe diuided? Yea, maie a false Hypocrite one of the secte of the Iesuities saye: for we haue the one parte of Iesus, therof called Iesuities, and haue left the other parte Christe, to the seely soules abroad, to holde them selues contented therewith, and with the name of Christians therof deriued.

Dorman.

When you speake off a secte of Iesuities, I knowe not what.

what you meane. I make gesse that you meane those religious men that are called of suche as knowe them. The companie or societie of Iesus. If that be your meaning what haue you to saye to them? Mary saie you, one of that secte maie saye Iesus Christe is diuided. And you, maie not you also saye so if you list M. Nowell? Who doubteth but that you are in as good possibilitie to saye so as they or anie other? Why then, because bothe you and they, and all other maie saye so, are you therefore and they, and all other schismatikes, hypocrites, and so furthe? But why maye they saie so more then anie other. For sothe becausse they are called Iesuites. For sothe they be not so called truly. Look in the decrees of the late councell holden at Trent, and there you maie learne how they be called. They beare the name as I saide, of a companie gathered together in the name of Iesus to serue him wholly and perfectly, abandoning all worldly care. Their profession is to teache the liberall sciences to yonthe without rewarde, to bring vp their companie in the studie of diuinitie, in knowledge of the tongues aswel the vulgar and common, as the learned and principall tongues, the latine, greke, and Hebrue, to preache at their home, to conuert infidelles abroad to the faith, and heretikes to the church, and all this in the name of Iesus, and for the loue of Iesus. Hereafter you finde faulte M. Nowell with such ordres of religious men, as beare the names of sinfull men, as of S. Benedicte, S. Dominike, and S. Frauncis; nowe you blame them which beare the name of Iesus him selfe, as you imagine. Why wright you so contrarily, but because it is not the name that grieueth you so muche as the thing, the ordre, the rule of religious men. The which becausse you are not able to reprove so truly as you are (a man euen made for that purpose) to scoffe at the name wretchedly,

The profession of the clerkes of the societie of Iesus.

A DISPROVE OF M.

you flourish against the coate, and foyn against their
garmētes, but their ordre you can not reprove, their bodie
you can not perce vnto. For speake of the ordre, life, and
behaviour of these whom you cal Iesuities, and speake truly
M. Nowel, and one colleague of that cōpanie, as for exāple
that in Rome, or in *Conimbræ* of Portugall, shall shame for
vertue and learning (beside the sincerity of religiō) al your
congregations of protestātes what so euer or where so euer
they be. The miraculouse cōuerting to the faith of infinite
millions of infidelles, in more then 20. diuerse kingdomes
of the Easte and West Indias, and other moſte ample cōū-
tries of late yeares discovered, the miracles by the wrought,
the Apostolical trauaile by lande and by sea of these good
fathers, the cruell martyrdome of manie for preaching the
faith of Christe to infidelles (all whiche maye at large be
sene in the epistles called *Diuersi auisi* &c. in the Italian ton-
gue, set furth from the yeare 1551. vntill the laste of 1564. in
four ſenerall partes) doe evidently declare, bable and prar-
tle, rane and rage as muche as yow lewdely talke, but a blessed
and learned companie of holye men, raised vp by God in
these wicked dayes, bothe to staye the faith readye to fall
in those partes, to plant it in other places where it was ne-
uer hearde of before, and finally for the vrrer ouerthrowin-
ge of heretykes where so euer they be, as in Germanye e-
specialllye (where diuerse learned colleagues are of them)
to the no small harte burning off youre felows protestan-
tes and yow M. Nowel, God be prayfed they haue done.
Whiche olde grudge made yow I beleue in this place mo-
re spitefully to speake off them, then of anye other ordre
of religiousse men. For thus you continue yeat to inuey a-
gainst them.

*Augusta.
Dilinga.
Prussia.
Brunsbere.
Vienna.
Mentis.*

Why

Why is Iesus one then and Christe an other? Be there two Christes then, or one diuided into two? One of these must needs be.

Nowell.

Neither is Iesus one and Christe an other, neither are there two Christes, nor one diuided in two, neither was this the meaning of S. Paule when he asked whether Christe were diuided, howeuer it please yow pleasantly to daily thereupon, abusing the holy scripture moste wickedly to serue youre scoffing and railing spirit. If there had bene emongest the Corinthians no other schisme then that some of them for the loue of Iesus Christe leauing all worldly substance and hope thereof, had assembled them selfe in to a companie together, to preach, to teache, to instructe freely all men, and that for Iesus sake, professing to be called by the title of a companie gathered together in his name, and other some not minding to folowe. Suche high perfection continuing the common course of lyfe were called by the common name of Christians, he woulde neuer we maye be surer haue asked whether Christe were diuided. And surelye if this shoulde haue bene S. Pauls minde, I see not but yow might haue brought a more euident place, then yow haue brought anie yeat, to proue that euen in S. Pauls tyme Iesus Christe was diuided, and that so there were then schismes. For in the Actes of the Apostles we reade, that at Antioche the disciples were first called Christians, and then if S. Paule chaunced to be in that companie, as it is not to be doubted but he was of that companie, you might proue S. Paule by his owne wordes to haue diuided Iesus Christe, and so to be a schismatike. For the texte hathe yow wote well, that the disciples were called Christians, not Iesuchristians. But God be praised M. Nowell, S. Paule had no suche meaning as yow woulde make the

Dozman.

11. 11.

A DISPROVFE OF M.

M. No.
well falsi-
fieth the
Scripture.
1. Cor. 1.

the worlde wene he had, no nor anye suche wordes nei-
ther as yow alcribe to him, and therefore yow haue moſte
wickedly falſified the ſcriptures the more pleaſantly to ſcor-
ne and ſcoffe as the ſeruauntes of God. S. Pauls wor-
des are, *Nunquid diuiſus eſt Chriſtus?* is Chriſte diuided?
Why make yow him to ſaye, is Ieſus Chriſte diuided? Was
there no other vauntage to be founde againſt thoſe whom
you call Ieſuites but to make ſuch a homelie ſhift as this is?
Nowe Ieſus be prayſed therefore, in whole name they are
gathered together.

Nowell.

Ells if Ieſus Chriſte be not two but one (as he is moſte cer-
teinly one) and being not diuided (as he moſte certainly is whole)
then are yow Ieſuites, were your religion good, nothing ellſ but
Chriſtians.

Dorman.

It were pitie to interrupte youre paſtime, otherwiſe I
woulde put yow in remembraunce that there be no ſuche
religiouſe men (as yow fantaſie) called Ieſuites, but then
were all the ſporte marred and therefore let the ſocietie of
the name of Ieſus be called for youre pleaſure at this tyme,
Ieſuites. And nowe I ſaye to youre obiection, that if yow
take Ieſuites precisely for all that beleue in Ieſus Chriſte, I
graunte to yow, Ieſuites and Chriſtians are all one. But
they are not called Ieſuites M. Nowell (if they were ſo cal-
led at all) becauſe they beleue in Ieſus Chriſte. So they be-
leued before they were Ieſuites. But why they are called as
they are, yow haue hearde before. And thus this argument
of yours is proued to be but a ſophiſme, which being thus
ouerthrowen, all that yow heape thereupon hereafter, fal-
leth downe alſo, as when proceeding in this lewde kinde of
talcke, yow ſaie.

Nowell.

Then are all Chriſtians Ieſuites alſo, then doe yowe in vaine
bragge of a ſeuerall name of religions, if youre religion and oures
be one.

All

All Christians are Iesuities, and all Iesuities are Christians touching the faith and believe in Christe. But in that some of a more passing loue to the honour of God become to be of the compaine of suche as forsake the worlde, the pleasure and libertie therof to folowe Iesus only, to preach his holie word to infidels, to conuert heretikes, to instruct youthe in good learning, to professe the tongues, Grammer, Logike, Rhetorike, Philosophie and Diuinitie, without rewarde or peny taking: in that I saie some addicte them selues to this trade of life, and are therefore called the companie or societie of Iesus, not euery Christian is suche a Iesuite M. Nowell. You youre selfe were not I am suer when yowe receiued youre stipende for teaching at westminster: whether you be now sodenly become such a Iesuite, that other men knowe better then I. Where yow saie that they bragge of a seuerall name of religions, that is one of your ordinarie lies M. Nowell. Would God you and I with other that haue not yet perfectly renounced this wicked worlde, coude as well practise in oure doinges that lesson of S. Paule: *modestia vestra nota sit omnibus hominibus.* Let youre modestie be knowne to all men, as they haue doen and to the greates encrease of Christiã faith, daily doe. Againe their religion is not seuerall in respect of faith which they professe, being no other then that one knowne faith of Christes vniuersall church, but of maner and kinde of liuing, whiche maie be diuerse without feare of schisme.

Philip. 4.

But if youre religion be hipocrisie (as it is in dede) then haue yow stirred vp an horrible schisme diuiding and cutting the glorious name of Iesus, in the which onely is saluation: yea tearing Christe him selfe in pieces, infinitely more wickedly and cruelly, then euer did the wicked fouldiers that crucified Christ, who had a remorse to cutte his coat a soudre.

Nowell.

Ff

He

A DISPROVVE OF M.

Dorman.

Hetherto M. Nowell hath wrangled about the name, supposing the religion of those of the societie of Iesus, as good as his. And trulie were it no better it were but a sturke lump of heresies, partly olde newly scoured: partly newe lately inuented. Now he commeth to the religion it selfe, and vpon a bare supposition that it is hipocrisy, this lusty Rhetorician dischargeth a peale of threateninges, and concludeth vpon the same, that the professours thereof are a horrible schisme, diuiding, tearing and cutting Christe him selfe, and so furthe. But what if the religion of those whom yow call Iesuities be no hipocrisy M. Nowell? Yow bid me proue that. On goddes name I saie it is no hipocrisy in dede. How thinke yow haue I not well and substantially proued it? Doe not I proue it to be no hipocrisy, as you proue it is hypocrisie, when yow bring only to proue it this bare assertion of yourres (as it is in dede): as though euery worde that yow spake were the gospell it selfe? If yow saie that yow minded not to proue it but to affirme it, then it shalbe inough for me also to affirme the contrary onely, without anie nede to proue it at all, attending after youre proufe, that so I maie haue some matter to answer to. Therefore I repeate againe, if the religion that yow speake of be no hipocrisy as it is none in dede, then haue yow maliciously lied. When yow speake of cutting the gloriouse name off Iesus Christe, the tearing of him selfe in to pieces, you put vs in remembraunce of that miserable and moste horrible tearing that yow haue made of Christe, yow cause vs to thinke how yow haue cut his mysticall bodye the churche by schismes and heresies, how yowe haue baled and mangled his sacramentes, how yow haue rent his true body in that moste blessed sacrament, how yow haue troden it vnder your beastly feete, infinitely more wickedly and cruelly on the

on the altar, the did those wicked souldiers, that crucified him on the crosse.

And lest all these sectes of hipocrites shoulde not be known sufficiently, by only diuersitie of names, they haue by other infinite wayes and meanes trauailed to seuer their sectes a sondre, studieng for diuision as for the best, and shewing all shewe of vntie as the worst of all thinges.

Nowell.

The Catholikes being sufficiently proued schismatikes by the diuersitie of names, M. Nowell wyll not staye there, but by other infinite meanes and wayes he will (he saith) proue the same . Nowe I praie yow good Readers marcke well these infinite meanes and waies . For excepte they were of greate force , M. Nowell yow maie be sur, woulde haue contented him selfe with suche stuffe as he hath in suche abundance brought allreadie , without heaping anie more.

Dorman.

Wherefore to their diuersitie of names, they haue joined diuersitie of fashions, and diuersitie of colours in their apparel, diuersitie of girdles, hose and shoes, diuersitie of shauing, diuersitie of going, beeking and bowing, diuersitie of diete and meates, diuersitie of reading, singing, and tuning, diuersitie of church seruice, and diuersitie of rules of life.

Nowell.

Who is it now M. Nowell that *magno conatu magnas nugas agit*? That plaieth the triffler so earnestly? Who proueth *quidlibet ex quolibet*, all thinges of euery thing? What greate triffles vtter you to proue a schisme emongest religious men? What childish diuersities heape you together to proue the horrible crime of schisme? If these diuersities be (as you saie they are) the verie propertie of schismes and sectes: what shall we saie to oure seruing men, that go in diuerse liuories, the aldermen of London that go in one coloure, and the burgeoises and meaner Citezins that go in an other? What will you make of the graue Iudges and learned Seriates at the lawe, Shal they be schismatikes and sectaries,

Dorman.

A DISPROVE OF M.

because the one sorte is cladde in scarlet, the other in fine blacke? Doctours in the vniuersitie in their scarlet gownes, and Maisters of Arte in their schoole habite, are they sectes by your iudgement M. Nowell? Your selfe with your long gowne and square cap, mainteine you a secte because yow go otherwise apparailled then other laye mē doe? Or if iudges, Doctours, Aldermen, scholers, seruing men, maye haue diuersitie of fashions, diuersitie of colours in apparell, and yet this diuersitie in them no propertie of schismes and sectes: maye not religious men also being of diuerse vocations and professions, haue thelike diuersitie of appareile and suche other thinges, without suspicion of sectes and schismes? Let your wisdom if you laie nay, instructe vs when you write nexte and shewe the cause why. But I praie you good sir, that affirme so peremptorily that this diuersitie is the verie propertie of schismes and sectes, haue you anie scripture that leadeth you to saie so? Haue you anie learned writer within the first six hundred yeares that giueth this marcke to knowe schismatikes by? Is there anie beside your selfe and the Apologie, and some other of like credite, that describeth schismes and sectes by this diuersitie? Naye if this diuersitie that you vainely obiekt to vs, were the verie propertie of sectes and schismes, might you not perhappes by that meanes proue Christe and his Apostles schismatikes? For as yow haue no scripture to proue that they went al in one liuory, so is the likelihode and presumption on the contrarie parte, that they went diuersly appareiled. But how so euer they were clothed, this is most certaine, that those good men that wandred about the worlde in peltres and gotes skynnes, of whome S. Paule maketh mention, and laieth that the world was not worthy of the, had apparel diuerse and distincte from other men, and yet

I trust

I trust you will not make them schismatikes.

As for the other diuersities that you gather, as of shauing, going, becking, bowing &c. Who woulde euer haue thought that a man of youre qualities had bene so scrupulouse or superstitious, as to requier that all men should be shaued a like, that they vse the like gats in going, the same manner of becking and bowing, and such like? But if in shauing there must needs for the auoiding of schismes be one vniforme fashion, why not in clipping I praye you M. Nowell? And then you might doe wel, when you preache nexte, sobroly to perswade with the barbers, that they cut hereafter all menues beards alike, all a la marquesato all a la philippina, all a la morelca, all forched, all square, or otherwise, as to youre wisdoms shall seme best, so that all be a like and schisme hereby auoided. Let your discretion also prescribe some one vniforme manner of going, becking and bowing. Nowe concerning diuersitie of diete and meates, you will not I thinke take vpon you to prescribe al Englands one diete and one kinde of meate, you will rather turne it over to the phisicion, and bid him vnder penile of schisme to appointe one suche diete to the whole realme. But if this be a note of schismes or sectes M. Nowell for one ordre of religious men to vse one diet, an other to feede after an other sorte, bothe of them notwithstanding susteining nature with no other then with suche as by ordre and law they maie: what are they I praye you, that in the holie time of lent when all the worlde abstaineth, and from the Apostles time hetherto euer hath abstained from flesh, doe then of al other times moste greedily desire the same? That religious men haue not allwaies obserued vniformitie neither in cutting their heare, neither in their diete, amongest other of the auncient fathers none witnesseth more

Sub fin. lib.
3. contra
haereses.
Diversi-
ties of li-
ving e-
mongest
religious
men in
the primi-
tive chur-
che.
Año. 18.

VVearing
of sacke
clothe for
penaunce.

IN A DISPROVE OF M.
evidently then Epiphanius the B. of Cypres: who descri-
bing the fourme of the church in his daies, when he com-
meth to make mentiō of the religious men, writeth thus.
Quidam vero ex solitaria vita degentibus etc. Some of these that
leade this solitarie life in the church, dwell in cities: Some continue
in monasteries, and get them farre out of the waye. Some haue
thought good to let their beere growe for cōlimesse sake, of the pro-
pre inuentiō of their minde, not of anie cāmaundemēt of the gospel
or tradition of the Apostles: for S. Paule the Apostle cut of this
ayre. There be beside other moste excellent conuersations of lyfe,
which are obserued in the same holie catholike church, I meane
off them which abstaine from all fleshe, fawre footed beastes, byrdes,
and fishe, yea egges also and cheese, and other diuerse rules of lyfe,
For euery one shall receiue his rewarde according to his owne la-
boure. And some truly abstaine from al these: other some from fou-
re footed beastes only, eating fowle and all other meates. Some ab-
staine from fowle, and vse egges and fishe. Some eat no egges nei-
ther, some eat fishe onely. Some abstaine also from fishe, and eat
cheese. Some there be that eat not so muche as cheese. Beside these,
there be other which abstaine from breade, other also from harde
fruites, nuttes, and all sodden thinges, manye haue the grounde for
their bedde. Other weare no shoes: other were priuey sacke clothe
for vertue and penaunce sake, which do trulye well. For it is vn-
semelye to be sene openlye wearing sacke clothe, as some doe. He-
therto Epiphanius touching the diuersitie of maners emon-
gest religious men in his tyme. How saye yow M. Nowel;
were yow ignoraunt of this place when yow made youre
description of sectes and schismes, or knewe yow of it? If
you were ignoraunt thereof, acknowledge at the length
that you were deceiued: if yow knew it, crye shame to you-
re selfe that durst charge the Catholikes with schismes, v-
sing suche maners, as the primitive church of Christe v-
sed?

fel: Nowe iudge good Reader whether thou haddest rather
 beleue Epiphanius or M. Nowell. The one, (Epiphanius)
 taketh occasion by these diuersities to sette furthe the be-
 auty of the churche & the other (M. Nowell) to obscure the-
 reby and deface the same. The one calleth these diuer-
 se fashions off lyding, *praecipitantesque conuersiones*, mo-
 ste excelleng conuersiones of lyfe and other, the very pro-
 pertye of schismes and sectes. Epiphanius sayeth they shall be
 rewarded: M. Nowell as muche in effect, as that they shal be
 condemned. But where hath Epiphanius these wordes, for
 that maketh not a little to the matter? Forsothe in that wor-
 ke of his, where he doeth nothing elles but fight against he-
 resies and sectes, in the very ende thereof, when hanning de-
 clared before howe heretikes and schismatikes had defor-
 med the church, he would as it were oppose and set against
 them, the holy lyfe and vertuouse conuersation off suche
 good men as had decked and garnished the same. So that
 if these diuerse fashions of lininges had bene the verye pro-
 pertye of sectes and schismes, he woulde neuer we maye
 be sure that wrote purposely against them, haue comended
 the for good and vertuouse. Now for reading, singing and
 tuning, it greueth me to heare how farr you be M. Nowel
 from all good tune. As though it were either nedefull,
 or youre churches at home, vsed thorough out all the real-
 me one tune and not diuerse. But for this matter I will le-
 aue yow to the musicians mercy, for diuinitie maketh no
 matter thereof, I assure yow. Yea there is an other diuer-
 sitye and that is of church service. If diuersitie heron ma-
 ke a schisme, then wa be to you M. Nowell and your com-
 panions, who hate altered the common receiued seruyce
 thorough out all the latine church: *Ex ore tuo re in die ser-
 uis uestrum*. But it is not euery diuersitie of church service
 that

Ephes. 4.
Eph. 20.

The cause
of diversitie
off
churche
service e-
mongest
religious
men.

that maketh a schisme, but onely suche diuersitie as is done
against ordre and lawfull means Goddes lawes, the lawe off
the church, given by those spirituall rulers and gouernours
whome Christe hath appointed for the building off his
misticall bodye the church, and to guyde and rule the sa-
me redeemed with his pretiousse bloude. Is there anye suche
diuersitie M. Notwell in church service amongst religious
men? Or howe euer the same service be amongst them
in this point diuerse, that in some places it is longer and
hath therefore more lessons, Antiphones, Responses, then
in other in some places shorter, and therefore fewer (whi-
che proceedeth of this that some of these ordres being spe-
cially instituted to presche, as the Dominicans and those
of the Society of Iesus: other some to lyue in contempla-
tions and meditations, as the Carthusians, must bestowe
more time in studie and contemplation then in publike
prayer: other to be wholly in the church to praye for their
sinners and the sinners of the people, as the Benedictines and
other, who maye and ought therefore to haue their service
longer) yea all this notwithstanding, the church service is
in the substance thereof in all places vni forme. For all reli-
gious men worshippinge one God, call vpon his blessed sain-
tes to helpe vs, praye for the deade, &c. This because the
whole church of Christe doeth and euer hath done, (de-
nye it if you can) and you doe not in youre service, the
blow that you had thought to haue fastened vpon vs is
light vpon youre owne nowle, and youre service thus farre
differing from Christes church, not theirs that agreeth the-
rewith, is schismaticall. Your last diuersitie is of rules and
life. Is it anye manuell good Reader, if they that after the
Apostles first practised the imitation of their life, in reno-
uncing the worlde and vanities thereof, as S. Basile. S.

Au-

Austen, S. Benedicte, S. Dominike, S. Frauncis, did deliuer to their folowers diuerse rules of life, this considered that although Christ were the only marcke that they all shot at, yea the meanes that they vsed to compasse and attaine therto were diuerse? S. Dominike for example, had this speciall meaning to make Christe knowen to the rude and ignorant by preaching. S. Frauncis bothe by worde and example enforced him selfe to perswade to the proude and arrogant, humilitie and contempt of riches. Who can now denie but that suche meanes are here to be prescribed, as by the which the professours of this ordre or that, maie so nest attaine to their desired ende? As it is in these, so is it in all other, Benedictines, Carthusians, Bernardines &c. E amongst all the which, it suffiseth vs that yow are able to name no suche diuersitie of rules and life, as being diuerse one from the other, are anie of them against the commaundementes of God: whereas contrarywise, how diuerse so euer they seme to yow, they all agree in the ende of glorifieng God, although they differ in the meanes, the one working this waie, the other that, and yea euery waie good.

All times woulde faile me if I shoulde or coulde reherse all their diuersities, which is the verie propriety off schismes and sectes.

Helpe the man to a daie more, some good bodie for goddes sake. Will yow see so much worthy matter lost for lacke of time to vttir it. If not a daie, some man spare him an idle houre, perhappes it would serue his turne as well as a yeare. O that there were now an other *Iohannes de tempo-ribus* to lende yow M. Nowell some of his time. But if the worst happen that no suche creditour can be founde, rather take the morow after Domes daie, or the Grieces calendes, and holde men in suspense till that time: put them not out

Nowell

Dormer

A DISPROVE OF M.

of all hope by suche discomfortable wordes. Well we haue all that we shall haue at this time I perceiue, what conclude yow therfore of these diuersities that yow haue reherſed already? Forſothe that they are the verie propertie of ſchiſmes and ſectes. Nowe iwiſſe M. Nowell if yow had all times at commaundement, if yow coulde proue no otherwiſe ſchiſmes and ſectes to be amongeſt vs then by this meanes, you neede to take no longre daie, the time that you haue ſpent already was long inough, and to long to without yow had better beſtowed it. S. Auſten teacheth you an other leſſon to knowe ſchiſmes by, then this that you haue learned of the Apologie, of Bale, and ſuche like maſters, of the diuerſitie of coates, hoſen, ſhoes &c. For thus defineth he a ſchiſme: *Schiſma eſt recens congregationis ex aliqua ſententiarum diuerſitate, diſſenſio*. Schiſme is a newe diſſenſion of a companie by ſome diuerſitie of opinions. Now I praie yow what ſchiſme or ſecte haue yow proued all this while to be amongeſt Catholikes, or what ſuche ſchiſme or ſecte coulde yow proue if all times failed yow not? The learned fathers Cyprian, Auſten, Optatus, and other, deſcribe ſchiſmatikes to be ſuch as ſet vp chaire againſt chaire, erect altar againſt altar. How far wide is this fro your deſcription?

S. Auſten
definition
of a ſchiſ-
me.

Lib. 2. cap.
7. contra
Crefcon.
Grammat.

Nowell.

Theſe be thoſe ſchiſmatikes and ſectaries, with an infinite multitude whereof, of late Englaunde was replenished, of the whiche nowe thanks be to God the realme is well ridde.

Dorman.

Vpon youre falſe and vnttrue premiſſes yow inferre as falſe and as vnttrue a concluſion. I will make therefore the concluſion true and right for yow. Theſe be the religious perſones, who embracing the perfection of chriſten religion, after the counſell of oure Sauour, after the example of the Apoſtles, of the learned and holie fathers, S. Hieromie S. Auſten, and S. Baſile, who profeſſing voluntary pouerty,
holy

holy obedience, and perfecte virginittie, serued God bothe daie and night, preached the Catholike faith, praied for all estates, relieved the poer aboute them, kept liberall hospitalite. These be such, whose profession and order is blamelesse, though the life of many were faulty, as it was also euen in the primitive church, in the time of S. Paule, of S. Basill, S. Hierom and S. Augustin, who yet haue ben tolerated in Christendom for the good and vertuous sake, (as amonge all other sortes of men, the euil are tolerated for the goodes sake). These are they, with a great multitude whereof, praied be God, and the deuotion of such as were the authours of such godly foundations, our dere countre of England; not of late onelie M. Nowell, but euen sence the first coming of Christen faith in to England, abunded, to the honour of God and welth of the realme, of the whiche now, thanks be to lewde Apostatas, to rennagat friers and monkes, to vowebreakes, and incestuous votaries, to vpstert protestants, the realme is miserably spoiled, so that if yow passe from one ende of the realme vnto the other, of so many thousand monasteries, hospitals, almes houses, chappels and cloysters as then stode, partly endued with bountefull liuelyhods, partly charitably maintained of the inhabitants to the great weale of their soules, of so many I saie so standyng, you shall not see one stande now, but either defaced, or prophaned, either all ruinous, or in the handes of such, who vie it as temporall landes, not for the maintenance of spirituall exercises.

So that if you meete a thousande men and women, one after another, and aske of them, of what religion be you, they shall all and euery one answer you, I am a Christian, we be all Christians: there shall not one answer to you (as was wont vnder your heade) I am of the religion of S. Francis &c.

I tolde you before that this worde (*Religion*) was confi-

Nowell.

Dorman.

A DISPROUFE OF M.

dered two wayes, either as it pertaineth to faith or to man-
ners. In the first sense there was neuer man nor woman
yeat, that woulde otherwise haue answered you, not if yow
had met ten thousande one after an other, but that they
were all Christians. That they did customably otherwise
answere, it was in this latter sense, as taking those that asked
them the question to meane of their rule and profession of
life not of their faith, whereof they had cause to thinke
that the demaunders of suche questions being Christians
were not ignorant. Of this there can be no better proufe,
then that if in Englande when religious men were there,
or Fyladres, Spaine, Italy, or any place where they now be,
a knowen Iue or infidell shoulde aske any religious man
or woman, of what religion they were, they woulde to su-
che a one answer furthwith that they were Christiā, not
Franciscanes, Dominicanes etc. because they woulde iudge
the question to concerne religion as it pertaineth to faith,
not otherwise. And so what haue you gotten by this.

Nowell.
fo. 56. a. 1.

These so diuerse sectes of false religion abandoned now out of
England, and the one true religion of oure Sauour Iesus Christe
only there remaining; I merueile with what face you can charge
vs with schismes and sectes, which is youre owne speciall sore.

Dorman.

These so diuerse ordres of religious men being all of
one religion by beleife, and therefore no schismes nor sectes
of false religion: these by youre meanes being wickedly a-
bandoned out of Englande, whereas they remaine yeat in
all catholike countries to the inestimable comforte of
good people, and so manie false religions, schismes and he-
ties brought in by you in to their place, as well with vs as
elles where, where you haue displaced them, I merueile
with what face you can charge men and women of one fai-
the and beleife, with schismes which is a breache of the co-
mon

mon faithe. I merueile with what harte you could charge the blessed Apostles, the Nicene counsell, the learned fathers, with nourishing of schismes and sectes emongest them, for squaring only about priuate matters. I merueile with what stomake you could alleage schoolemen and Logicians, to proue schismes and sectes emongest the Catholikes. I merueile with what vnbridled boldnes you could call the diuersitie of apparell, girdles, hose, yea shoes, diuersitie of meates &c. the verie propertie of schismes and sectes. Last of all I merueile, with what face you can charge vs with schismes and sectes, which is youre owne speciall

And where you warne the readers, vpon experience of the multitude of schismes lately risen, then the forsaking of that one poppish heade, to credite the auncient fathers as witnessing with you against vs: you might as iustly warne them to credite the auncient Phariseis rather then Christe and his Apostles: bothe for that the first heresy as S. Augustine teacheth, sprang amongst the disciples of Christe &c. and also for that in the Apostles time, some vsed such schismaticall fanges as these: we holde of Paule, some other, we holde of Cephas &c. whereas there was no such dissention amongst the highe priestes and phariseis, but greates vnitie and concord amongst them against Christes Apostles.

Nowe M. Nowell hauing done what he can to charge vs with schismes, and knowing withall howe simple the stufte is that he hath brought forth, hath founde at the length that it is best to renewe his former plea, that is, that it is no such greate matter though they agree not amongst themselves, especially seing that, as before he tolde vs that the Apostles were at dissension amongst themselves: so here he will proue the like of the disciples: and againe to deface oure vnitie and quiete agreement, he hath founde it to be right good counsell to saye, that that is no such great matter as the which is comon to vs with the Phariseis against them.

Protestants
deface
vnitie.

A DISPROVE OF M.

them, Christes Apostles and disciples forsothe.

Nowe is not here as I tolde you before a goodly religion, that maketh the Apostles and disciples of Christe schismatikes, that when it can not haue vnitie to mainteine it, laboureth all that it can to deface it? But nowe let vs heare howe he protesteth that their side ought not to be charged with schismes and sectes, because I might as iustly (he saith) warne men to credite the auncient phariseis rather then Christe and his Apostles. Why then were there sectes and schismes betwene Christe and his Apostles as there are betwene Luther and his followers? or agreed the Phariseis in vnitye of one truth not onely against Christ and his but emongest them selues also, as we Catholikes doe and euer haue done against Luther (whome in this argument M. Nowell yow resemble to Christe and his Apostles?) For sectes and schismes to be betwene Christe and his Apostles, that yow dare not plainly affirme, but whereas that being the pretence whereby yow woulde defende youre schismes, that yow shoulde haue proued: yow leauing it altogether vnproued, thinke youre selfe sufficiently discharged, because the disciples of Christe fell into heresie. Not doubting but emongest the simpler sorte, heresie being proued within lesse then two lynies after the mentio of the Apostles in the disciples, they not obseruing the difference betwene Apostles and disciples, woulde easily be deceiued, and beleue that yow had sufficiently proued the Apostles heretikes. For answer to this that yow bring here of the disciples, I saye in fewe wordes: that these disciples were not of the Apostles, but of suche followers and hearers of Christe, as forooke him before his passion, when he preached of the blessed Sacrament, as it appeareth in the gospell. The Apostles remained still with Christe their hear-

de,

de, and forsooke him not. Betwene Christe and them was moste perfecte vniue and agreement. Howe can yow then I praye you, charge Christ and his Apostles with schismes, because of the disciples departing fro Christ? Let vs graunte your imaginatio, if you ca not otherwise vnderstand reason, that Luther were Christ and Carolstadius, Melanchthon, with some other his Apostles. If this your new Christe, and his Apostles agreeing all in one faith, some other disciples comming to them shoulde reuile and departe from them againe, were this now a iust cause to call Luther and his companie agreeing all in one, schismatikes? I thinke yow will not saye so, at the least there is no reason; why suche departure shoulde preiudicate or hurte them that remaine quiete still as they did before. If yow will not, nor can not saye thus of Luther, why saye yow so off Christe and his Apostles? Why saye yow that we maye as iustlye call them schismatikes as we doe yow: whereas youre false Christe and his owne Apostles neuer agreed together, and oure true Christe with his his neuer disagreed? And this is the cause why we call yow heretikes and schismatikes, because yow nourish and encrease thole heresies and schismes, that sprong vp euen with youre first maister and his scholers, as youre selues can not denie, and departe from Christes knowen church (or elles Christe had no church at all) as those disciples off Christe that you speake off did. With whom youre resemblaunce is so muche the greater, because that as these first heretikes departed from the church (Christe and his Apostles) because they would not beleue in Christes doctrine of the blessed sacrament: so haue you parted a greate nombre of yow, from vs for the same cause, and mainteine the same heresie as S. Augustine calleth it. Nowe as it were no good reason to proue vs schis-

A DISPROVFE OF M.

schismatikes, because yow are parted from vs: being on-
 as yow can not denye, of vs so can no man iustly char-
 ge Christe and his Apostles with that crime, because his
 disciples parted from him. And as I answered to this, so doe
 I to youre other objections of the schismatikes in S. Pauls
 time, of those other also of the Nicolaites, the Simonians,
 Cerinthians, &c. who all parting from the knowen chur-
 che of Christe, ought not to preiudicate the same. For the-
 ir departure was alwaies so sensible, that the true christian
 might saye with S. John. *They haue departed from amongst*
vs, but they were none of vs. The Apostles and their compa-
 ny remained alwaies a visible and knowen church. So
 that these examples can nothing helpe to couer your schis-
 maticall sores, whereas in Christe and the Apostles them-
 selues, there was neuer any breache of vnitie, whiche yow
 shoulde haue proued lykewyse, therby to excuse your first
 Christ and his Apostles.

Whereas an other plea of youre is, that amongst the
 high priestes and Phariseis there was no dissention: but gre-
 ate vnitie and concorde amongst them against Christes Apostles:
 to that I saye, that although they agreed in this, all to per-
 secute the Apostles: yet amongst them selues they were
 diuided into sectes and schismes, some being called Phari-
 seis, other some Sadducees, and yet a thirde secte called Es-
 seni, so that they resemble more liuely yow protestantes,
 then vs catholikes, agreeing as the Phariseis did against the
 truth, and diuided also with them into sectes amongst
 your selues. If you departed from vs as Christ and the Apost-
 les (you saie) did from the high priestes and their church, then
 should you be at vnitie and concorde amongst your selues
 as the Apostles were, then must you shewe out of the scri-
 pture, the fall of the church of Christe, the corruption of
 the

1 Cor. 1.
 cap. 2.

Ioseph. lib.
 Antiq. Iu-
 daic. 13.
 cap. 8.

Esai. 66.

the same, and the restitution in the latter daies to come, all foreprophecied in the lawe, as the Apostles proued oute of the scripture, the fall of the Sinagoge, the corruption of the high priestes, the comming of Messias, the placing of the newe lawe that shoulde continue. When yowe can proue this and defeate Christes promise made of his church to be visible, and vniuersall ouer all the worlde, and to his church, to continue for euer, then call vs phariseis hardely and spare not, calle youre selues Christe and his apostles, we giue yow leaue.

Esai. 66.
Hierem. 6.
Ezech. 44
Habacuc 2.
Mat. 7. 13.
Ch. 28.

For further excuse of your schismes and diuisions, yow tell vs of the troubles that rose in Iurie, and shortly after ouer all the world, vpo the preaching of Christes gospell &c. If diuisions and troubles were then it is not to be merueiled at, oure sauour him selfe, saing of him selfe: *non veni pacem mittere sed gladium*, I come not to sende peace, but a sworde. But oure age is not nowe M. Nowell the primitive church, oure faithe is not nowe to be begonne of newe. It hath bene with consent of all the worlde established these 12. hundred yeares. And therefore youre comparison is lewde, and vntre. Yow saie funder.

Mat. 16.

Jo. 56. b. 2.

Mat. 10.

And as iustly might yow charge the Apostles and their doctrine with those schismes, sectes, and troubles, as yow do charge vs with those that haue risen in oure dayes.

Nowell.

Euer yow harpe vpon that string that yow woulde be like the apostles, which (when yow can proue that Christ promised to builde an other church, beside that whereof he made Peter the heade, and that frier Martine Luther shoulde be the seconde Messias, and *Zuinglius* or *Carolstadtus* the heade therof) then we will easely graunte to you. But note againe I praie yow M. Nowell, the difference of the schismes arising in the Apostles time, and of youre

Derman.

AN DISPROUFE OF NOW

schismes arising in our time. The Apostles were not at di-
 uision amongst them selves: yow are. The Apostles were
 before those schismes: yow haue risen together with the
 schismes. Those schismes departed out from the Apostles:
 your schismes are within youre selues. Againe see the agree-
 ment of those schismes with youres, and confer the sale of
 the state of the church nowe, with that of the primitive
 church then. Those schismes and sectes departed out of
 the primitive church: each so haue yow departed nowe
 oute of the same church being of longre continuance.
 They being departed multiplied into mo schismes, and par-
 ted into farder diuision, yow being departed multiply daily
 from schisme to schisme, and newe sectes haue risen since
 youre departure from Martin Luther. They troubled and
 disquieted the primitive church of the Apostles: yow trou-
 ble and disquiet the catholike church that nowe is. If you
 demaunde the prouffe of this which I saie, answer the booke
 (which I am suer yow will neuer be hable to answer)
 lately set furth in oure tongue, mozte truly called *The for-
 tresse of the faith &c.* And shewe vs, as you will stande to
 it hereafter, when the faith and light of goddes holy word,
 which yow saie hath nowe of late sprong againe, was ex-
 tinguished, where, and by whome.

Nowell

Dorman

Where it is well knowne to the worlde, that oure learned men
 haue by their writings more oppugned and repressed the saide
 sectes then all the papistes haue done.
 This is that whiche I saide before, that yow haue de-
 wright diligently one against an other, which is a mozte e-
 nident assurance of youre dissention in doctrine. And if
 these youre writings were in the vulgare tongues to be re-
 ade of all men, there would be no better argument in the
 worlde to disgrace youre doctrine for euill. Where is yow
 com-

compare your diligence in writing with that of the catho-
likes: if the late writings of learned catholikes of all coun-
tries, especially of Germanie it selfe, were in dede compa-
red to yours, it should appeare howe false and untrue this

In dede we must nedes confesse a truth, that whilst we all re-
mained vnder this quiet obedience of yowre Romish heade, in
one doctrine of his traditions, there was a coloured kinde of qui-
etnesse &c.

Felix necessitas quae cogit ad meliora. Happye is the
necessitie whiche forceth to the better. Here M. Nowell
correcting him selfe, for that before he charged vs so hey-
nously with the schismes and sectes, wyl somewhat mitiga-
te that cruell sentence off his, and therefore he muste
he saith, nedes confesse, that there was when we lyued vn-
der the obedience off the pope, a coloured kynde off qui-
etnesse amongest vs. Surelye I am sorye M. Nowell
that we can not saye as muche off yow, that we can
finde no tyme, when amongest yowe there was so mi-
che as anye shadowe off coloured quietnesse. But doe
yow remembre with what schismes and sectes yow char-
ged vs before? The Thomistes and Scotistes, the No-
minalles and Realles, met they not daily at the scooles? The
Benedictines Cisterians, Carmelites &c. kept they their
names so priuey that they were knowen to no man? Their
habite in some whitt, in other blacke &c. were men so blin-
de they coulde not see? Their diuerse diet, their shauing,
going, beeking, bowing &c. were they thinges so priuile-
ged, that no man knewe of them? If these thinges were
known to all men as they were, how faie you that there
was a coloured kinde of quietnesse amongest vs, when the
greatest and all the schismes and sectes that you coulde

Nowell.

Dorman.

A DISPROVE OF M.

M. Nowell writteth contraries.

Fol. 114. a

Nowell. fo. 57. a. 7.

Dorman.

falsely charge vs withall, were so farre from all colour, that they were manifest and open to the eyes of all men. And thus are you manifestly contrary to your selfe, saing here that we had amongst vs a coloured kinde of quietnes, and before, that lest the religious men whome you call sectes of Hypocrites shoulde not be knowen, they studied for diuision, and fled all shewe of vnitie.

But when that Christe the auctor of that light, as he him selfe, and by his Apostles bewraied the errorrs of the Iuishe traditions by the saide light first springing, and withall troubled their vnitie and concorde in the doctrine of suche traditions, and their quietnesse in their Sinagoge so settled before: so nowe the same oure sauour, in the time by his wisdom appointed &c.

In this place M. Nowell openeth to the worlde the secrete iudgementes of God, about the restoring the truthe quite extinguished in these latter daies. For proufe wherof the indifferent reader maye note, that he who triumpheth so much of holie scripture, and of the necessitie of prouing all thinges by the expresse lettre therof, bringeth nowe no one texte or piece of texte, out of the whole bible. Yea shal you see how weightie the matters are that he affirmeth. First (he saith) that oure Sauour in the time by his wisdom appointed, hath disclosed that the pope and his haue obscured, hidden, broken and forbidden the lawe of God. Againe, that this he hath done by the light of his holie worde againe springing and shining to them sitting in palpable darckenes &c. Nowe these pointes M. Nowell vttered by you without all warrant of scripture, as they are the fundation of all youre religion, so containe they against oure Sauour, and his holie worde moste horrible blasphemies, as the which importe an vtter overthrowe of the church, and suche a terrible Eclipse and defect of light in that cleere sonne, wherein the sonne of God hath pitched his beautiful tabernacle, that the darcke-

fo. 114. b.

nes

nes you saye was palpable, and coulde by no meanes be chased awaye, till a lewde Apostata and ronneagate frier, the worst man by the iudgement of his owne scholars that liued in his time, and worst able to bridle his affections, vpon malice, enuie, and couetousnes, restored the same againe. All that foloweth you build vpon this foundation, the which being naught the matter laied vpon it must needs come downe withall. And therfor it foloweth.

By this occasion, is there risen a like schisme betwene you and vs, as was betwene S. Paule and the Phariseis &c.

Nowell.

Here you heape a nombre of lies together, laing to oure charge, that the cause why we crye and barcke (you saie) against you, is because by this occasion of the light oure gaine is decayed, oure quietnes troubled, oure rest interrupted, oure good cheare marred, oure pompe abated. We are not offendid with you for this M. Nowell. The cause of oure misliking with your religion, and why we call you schismatikes you dare not so muche as name, which is, because you separate youreselues from Christes church, because you teache contrarie to the scriptures, that the church of Christe prophesied by the prophetes, promised by Christ to continue for ever, hath bene quite ouerthrowen. To this because you can not answer, you feine other causes at youre pleasure to bring vs into hatred. Of the which faultes objected by you to the catholikes, I saye generally as S. Austen did to the Donatistes obiecting the like. *In his omnibus nullum crimen at his Christianis esse ostendimus*, we shewe you that in al these thinges (which you laye to vs) there is no faulte of the whole christendome. And againe: *ad quosdam quippe illa pertinere possunt, non ad vniuersum orbem christianum*: for those faultes maye pertaine to some, they can not be the faultes of al Christendome. Leave therfore M. Nowel these extraua-

Dorman.

2i. de vni.
eccl. cap. 1.

121
 . . . A C O N T R O V E R S I O N .
 game excursions, of railing against the euill life of some; or
 abuses of certaine, wherewith a greate parte of this idle Re-
 proufe of yours is stuffed, and come to the doctrine it sel-
 fe: Proue vs your negative diuinitie by the rule and trial of
 holy Scripture, by the counsels and decrees of the church, or
 by the learned fathers if yow be able. It is an easie matter
 sayeth Saint Augustine to the Donatistes; either for yow
 to call vs Phariseis, or for vs to call yow so. It is as easie for
 vs to saye that yow persecute vs the true beleuers, as the
 Phariseis persecuted the Apostles, as it is for you to saye (as
 yow doe here) that we folowe the Phariseis in persecuting
 yow. It is as easie for vs to saye that you are lyke painted
 graues full of olde rotten bones within, pretending oute-
 wardly Gods worde, contempte of the worlde, brotherlye
 charitee, &c. being within couetouse, who orders vp, great
 exactors of mony, proude, crafty, with suche lyke, and
 so call yow Phariseis, as it is for yow to saye and write the
 same of vs. But M. Nowell, though Christ as the searcher
 and iudge of mennes hartes might boldly so pronounce
 of the Phariseis, whome he knewe better within then other
 did without, yet we must not iudge other, lest we be iud-
 ged oure selues as the gospell teacheth vs. Briefly the strit-
 te will be endlesse, vaine, and childlike, if in controuersie
 of doctrine and religion, suche impertinent discourses be
 entremingled. Wisedome it had bene for yow M. Nowell,
 to haue pricked directly at the matter of schismes, dischar-
 ging thereof plainly youre selues, by shewing that yowe
 toyne in communion with all the worlde, and not to haue
 roned as you haue done, now here, now there, at no cer-
 teine markes.

Lib. de v.
 nit. eccl.
 cap. 5.

. . .

. . .

Rom. 8.

Math. 7.

Nowell.
 fol. 58. a.

And so finally for this parte of purgation of oure selues against
 youre scandalous of schismes and troubles as by vs railed, doe we
 allea-

alleged the effects of the same parable of the strongman so quiet in his house vntill a stronger then he came and disturbed him, whiche Christe our saviour in like manner, is charged for the sake of himselfe.

Although the parable served our saviour against the Pharisees, yet it serued not yow against the church of Christe. When yow can proue that which yow only with out prouo blasphemously hether to have affirmed, making it as well of the application of this parable, as of all that you elles haue sayde touching comparing of vs to the Pharisees, youre selues to Christe, and his Apostles; the very foundation that all faithfull Christians were in that case when Martin Luther beganne first to preache, that the Pharisees were at the coming of Christe, then applye it and vse it, it will wel serue your purpose. Yet truly to make this parable in some wise to serue your turne, it maketh well for youre Sacramentarie against the poore Lutherans, whome you haue in dede not onely disquieted, but driven from their possessions in most places, and denoured also and swallowed into your hangfasten pounches; or then it is like that Pharae dreamed of the seven leaner catione, that they had eaten up the farr. And so let this parable and dreame bothe if you wil, serue your turne.

If the reader shall thinke that I haue bene too tedious in answering this matter here but touched at it were by the waye, I trust he will beare with me therein, for that M. Dorman, as he began and flourishd the first face of his booke, with blotting vs with the slander of schismes; so hath he hether continued in the same, and applied all his allegations out of S. Ciprian, Basile, Hierome, Nicephorus, and others, chiefly to that purpose, &c.

The reader must beare with yow in no thinges then this, or elles it will be wrong with yow. And euen in this me thinketh, and so I doubt not but other thinke to, wher-

Dorman.

cal. 124
- 2211 w
of 1212
sibi mid

Nowell.

Nowell.

Dorman.

Dorman.

in

in yow crave pardon as hauing sayde to much, he had neede to beare with you for saing so little. For your owne defence, till yow proue vs by Scripture that Christes church should decaie and come to ytter ruine, and that so it dyd, yow haue sayde nothing: against vs, till yow bring better matter then different opinions of schoolemen in disputable matters, of Logicians aboute the predicables, of religious men in clothing, diet, going, beeking, bowing, &c. yow haue sayde as little. The first sentence that I prefixed before my booke out of Saint Augustine, yow haue not yeat answered. If yow had answered it there as yow pretended that you would, you should not haue needed here to haue troubled either youre selfe or the reader with that matter. For answers once directly yea or nay to this, whether yow communicate with all nations, and with those churches founded by the Apostles labour, and the matter is answered who be the schismatikes in fewe wordes, you or we. Where you saye that my allegations out of S. Cyprian, Basile, Hierome, Nicephorus, were applyed chiefly to this, to note you of schismes: I muste note, that you be here contrarye to youre selfe and youre sainges before. For in youre reproofe vpon these places, you make me to haue suche sense, as though I had alleaged them all directly to proue the popes supremacy. And for that cause you labour with toothe and naile, to proue that they ought not so to be taken.

M. Newell
well con-
trary to
him selfe.

Nowell.

Neither are they contented herewith, but doe also plaie with pictures very pleasantly as they thinke, in the which they painte out a multitude of suche heretikes or rebelles, as oure confederates or allies, whose opinions we do moste abhorre, and against whome we continually bothe preache and wrighte.

Dorman.

Yea forsothe this was the matter in deede, although
yow

yow be lothe to confesse so muche, that made yowe to la-
 uish out youre store in defence of schismes and sectes. It
 was this table, this arbor as you call it, or crooked tree that
 made yow to daunce. But what saie yow to this tree I prais
 yow. Yow saie, that we haue placed there a multitude of
 heretikes whose opinions yowe doe moste abhorre. Wo
 maruile not though yow like not all, for therein standeth
 the grace of the table, that of so manie sectes as be there set
 out, no one of them liketh the other. Yowe shoulde haue
 done well to haue named the opinions which yow doe ab-
 horre, as perhappes yow would, had it not bene for waking
 some of youre felowes that seme to be a sleepe. That these
 sectes appeare not all of them evidently emongest yow, as
 they doe in Germanie where youre heresies first beganne,
 as that excuseth yow not being all membres of that malig-
 nant churche youre mother, so is it the lesse to be meruei-
 led at, because the states of these two countries are not like.
 England is ruled by one souereigne heade, Germanie by di-
 uerse. Which is the cause that the heades being diuersly af-
 fected in religion, auauce euery of them that religion
 whiche liketh him best. Whereas in Englande yow lacke
 that commoditie being vnder the rule of one only heade,
 whiche is an inuincible argument to shewe how necessarie
 in the church of God it is, to haue one heade to gouerne
 the reast. Had yow in Englande as they haue in Germanie,
 your free cities, youre dukes, youre Lantgraues, youre Pals-
 graues, euery one a king within his owne dominions: O
 how yowre sectes woulde triumph in the courtes of prin-
 ces, what combattles they would kepe in open pulpites, that
 nowe dare not but by stealth and in corners, one of them
 snarche and snarle at the other. As for youre continuall
 preaching and writing against these sectes, whereof yowe
 bragge

Why sec-
 tes and
 schismes
 shewe not
 them sel-
 ues so eui-
 dently in
 Englande
 as they
 doe in
 Germanie

A DISPROVE OF M.

bragge so muche, what yow preache against the Lutherans, Anabaptistes, Osiandrians, or any suche like, I reporte me to them which be youre hearers. I thinke what so euer face yow set vpon it here, yow be bolde and rare enough in that argument, and be as plentifull and whor as you will, yow shall haue these heretikes and suche other in places where they dare, saie as muche of yowe. As for youre writing, yow protestantes at home haue not written anie one worde that is to be sene abroad against anye secte of the table, more then in some sely translations of youre felowes booke, as yowe terme by contempte that kinde of exercise. So busy yowe are in doing the message of youre father in setting furth to the worlde youre Sacramentarie heresie, and defacing the popes auctoritie, that as little leisour haue you to wright against other sectes (if yow mislike them as yow pretende) as yow haue to exhort me by preaching, to fasting, to prayer, to good workes. And therefore youre writing I let passe as a manifest lye.

Nowell,

And all this doe they for that they are not ignorant, that suche though mooste false sclaunders, being yeat so importunely and continually laied to oure charge, are of muche effect to offende the weake and simple, and to stirre vp their hatred against vs. And therefore they vse suche constant asseuerations for argumentes, as in their schooles they are taught to doe, when they are destitute of due prouffes. &c.

Dorman.

If we sclaunder yow, how easy a matter had it bene for yow to haue recouered youre good name, by saing: There be not so manie sectes sprong out of Luther as the table saith there are, and then haue named some suche as had bene falsely noted in the same. The which because yowe haue not done (not for lacke of good will as appeareth) yow haue verie muche confirmed the truthe of the table.

Where-

Whereas yow stande vpon the bare deniall against manifest proufe, yow make vs in deepe remembre a saing of the schooles: *plu potest asinus negare quem Aristoteles probare.* But because this table offendith yow so muche, yow maie perchaunce shortly haue an other of allmoste 90. diuerse sectes gathered together by the reuerent father WILLIAM LINDAN Bishop of ELY. But perhappes yow count this a slander, because yow acknowledge but one religion of Iesus Christ, how manie sectes so euer there be amongest yow. For so it foloweth.

In Dubi-
tatio suo.

For we as we haue no religion but onelye Christes, so desire we to be called after the name of none but his, &c.

Nowell.

Whiche we M. Nowell? For so saith enerye secte in the table aswell as yowe sacramentaries doe. It is not inough for you to saye that you haue no religion but the religion of Christ, the contrarie whereof neuer heretike durst yeat in wordes professe. Prove it first, then saie it afterwarde. Begin from the Apostles and come to oure time, and shewe youre religion in euery age, as oures hath of late bene learnedly shewed, and then bragge that you haue none but Christes religion. We offer you faire, refuse vs not, in goddes name and in the behalfe of his church I saie, refuse vs not. If you dare and mistrust not your cause, procure vs libertie freely to sende in oure bookes, and to other indemnities for hauing and reading the. It is the thing, that (if you meane as you pretende the planting of true religion in the hartes of all men) you shoulde most earnestly haue desired: refuse it not therefore being freely offered. It is the thing, that on youre knees ioynately together with vs, you ought to become humble petitioners to the Quenes moste excellent maiestie to vouchesaufe to graunte, and

Dorman.

A reason-
able
challenge
to the
protestants

A DISPROVE OF M.

to remoue all suche occasions, as might stoppe or hinder in
anie wise the course of so necessarie an attempt. It is the
waie to ende all controuerfies, to cease all strifes, to resto-
re vnitie, to betraye schismatikes, to make manifest the true
catholikes, and so consequently to make it appeare, whe-
ther you haue no religion but only Christes. The which
saing of youres till you proue by this meanes, wil be count-
ted no better then a bragge common to all heretikes.

Nowell.

Think they that if we list and had leifor as they haue, we coul-
de not frame an arbor or tree, wise as greate as they haue deu-
sed? &c.

Dorman.

Now let this pleasant deuise of youres come furth when
you wyll M. Nowell, What shall you proue or wyn there-
by? No schisme, no secte, no contrarietie of opinions in doc-
trine of the faith, ca ye proue or shew there. No blasphemy
against the blessed Trinite, no heresy against the Sacraments
of Christes church, against the godhead of Christ, against
our blessed lady, no article of our Crede denied, shal you fin-
de in that your deuised arbor, as in the table of your peti-
grue M. Nowel, all such thinges are to be founde. But thin-
ke you againe, that if we list and had leasure to be euill oc-
cupied, we coulde not deuise as fonde foolish toyes, as
your sharpe wit hath imagined, (touching your ministres
and their wiues, your ronnagat friers and mōckes with their
strompets, your late skirmish vpo square cappes and copes,
your diuersities of apparell, of hattes and clokes, of beards
and such like trifling toyes) more mere for children in a
Christmas playe, or for laddes of the countrie in a whif-
son game, then for a preacher and pretended deane in
his printed workes? Wherefore I conlude omitting all o-
ther not necessary trifles in this your trifling processe, that
the crime of schismes and sectes most truly laied to youre
charge

charge, hath most falsely, vniustly and barrenly ben, reuer-
sed vpon vs, and do rebounde directly and truly vpon you
and your felowes, in such sorte, that while you liue M. No-
well, nor in many yeres after the tyme of your heresies
be calmed, this your horrible diuision and multitudine of
schismes in so fewe yeres spronge vp, shall at any time be
forgotten, or blotted out of eternall memory, to the perp-
tuall ignominie of protestants, and great glory of God and
his church.

That the place brought out of the .17. Chapitres
of Deuter, is well and to the purpo-
se alleaged.

The 18. Chapitres.

Yow saye M. Nowell, that the circumstances of this place
of Deuteronomium being well considered, they maie easilie in-
forme the reader, that the popes tirannie to saye and doe what he
liste, can not be grounded vpon this place, and that if the pope or
any creature doe commaunde against goddes worde, he maie and
ought to be disobeyed therein. And that therefore bothe Pi-
ghius and I, haue in vaine alleaged this place for suche suprema-
cie as the pope claimech. The circumstances to be considered are, the
place which God hath chosen, the prieste which must be leuitied.
Thirdlie the place, to be doubtfull, whether the whole determi-
nation doe pertaine to one or to many, &c. Fourthly, that it is re-
quisite that the saide priestes or prieste, doe teach according to the
lawe of God, and not at his owne pleasure.

To youre texte M. Nowell for shame, will you euer be
thus ranging at randon? It was not my purpose here to
proue by this place of Deuteron. the bishop of Rome his
supremacie ouer Christes whole church, no more then
it is Pighius his in the place by you alleaged. The mat-
ter that I haue here in hande, is to proue that there must
be one heade to gouerne the church now, as there was to
gouerne the same in the olde lawe before. Whether it

Nowell.
fol. 127.
27.
B 36.

Dorman.

ADISPROVE OF M

* The place.
* The
prieste.

Hebrye. 7.

* Whether the
place be
to be vnder-
stande
of one
prieste or
many.

* Of find-
ing ac-

be at Rome, at Hierusalem, or in anye place elles I dispute
not here. And therefore youre first * consideration and
* secōde, came without all consideration out of season. But
I maie beare with you the better, because I haue bene v-
sed to this maner of dealing of yours before, as the
reader I doubt not can beare me witnes. One thing yet
I can not by the way but merueile at, why in chalenging
the pope to be no Leviticall prieste: you did not as well ex-
cept against Rome because it is not in Iudea. For why
shoulde not the place be all one as well as the prieste? Well
it shall suffice for this tyme M. Nowel, that as when it is not
impertinent it shalbe proued that Rome is the place which
God hathe chosen: so in the meane season it is not nedeful,
that the prieste shoulde be of the Leviticall ordre whiche
now is abrogate, but of that onely which Christe hauing
planted in his church: to continue for euer, hathe succeeded
in place of the other.
Your third consideration commeth nearer, and is in-
dede to oure purpose, of one heade in the church or ma-
nie, yea that also if it had bene so well considered as it
ought: if yow had as depelye weighed the wordes that fo-
lowe: *nolens obedire Sacerdotis imperio*, that will not obeye
the prieste his commaundement, as yow lightlie and glad-
ly snatched at those that went before, *Thou shalt come to the
priestes of the Leviticall sorte*: You shoulde easelye haue sene,
that the plurall numbre doth note rather the continuance
of the commaundement from prieste to prieste in suc-
cession, then that it should be ment of many priestes at o-
ne time. The iudge of the nation ioyned with the prieste,
maketh for the secular sworde executing the lawe off the
prieste.

* The fourth consideration brainlicke *Brutius* conside-
red

red before you. To the which I answer, that whereas now we you flee to the olde translation, who at other tymes call vs to the fountaines, to the Greke and to the Hebrue verities, as seemeth best to serue for your aduantage, that I, not with M. Stapleton, but with the late learned and godlye counsell of Trent, affirming the olde translation to be specially folowed in the correction of maners or determination of faith, doe auouche the same, and that yet you are thereby neuer the nearer to youre purpose, the common translation as well ouerthrowing you as dothe the Hebrue veritye. For the wordes whereupon you grounde youre selfe: *And thou shalt doe what so euer they shall saye vnto the, who gouerne the place that our Lord hath chosen, and what so euer they shall teach the according to his Lawe,* as though said you, the prieste might teach otherwise, and then he shoulde not be obeyed: be not conditionall, but enundiatum, that is to saye, wordes that expresse what he shall doe in dede, to assure the rather the ignoraunt man to obeye his commandement. This interpretation maye manye wayes be proued. First because it ought to be presumed, and all men are bounde as muche as maye be to indenuour, that the olde translation and the fountaines maye agree together. Which because by this meanes is brought to passe, and by that sense whiche you giue in no wise it can, it foloweth, that this meaning is rather to be receiued then yours. An other cause is, the circumstance of the place it selfe, which telleth vs, that the people was bidden goe to the priestes, and to the iudge whiche shoulde be for the tyme, to aske hys iudgement of harde and doubtfull questions. If euery one of the people had bene hable to finde out in the question that he shoulde propose to the iudge, what were agreable to Gods lawe and what were not, when the iudge tolde him

according
to the la-
we.

1.

2.

him

him truthe and when he failed: Neither could there anye
question haue bene doubtfull, neither should there con-
sequentlye haue bene anye neede to haue had suche a iudge.
When shoulde those wordes haue bene euer put in execu-
tion that folowes: *He that off pride refuseth to obeye the prie-
stes commendement shall dye*: if this had bene the meaning
that you dreame of? Might not anye man haue wrangled
as ofte as he had list, that the sentence was not according
to the lawe? And therefore to put the matter out of al doubt-
te, the Scripture saierh in this verye place, *indicabunt tibi in-
dicij veritatem*, they shall tell truthe and giue thee right iud-
gement. To conclud, there is one place in the scripture off
all other moste plaine, to couince this sense that the catho-
like doctrine maietaineth. Reade Malachias the prophete
the second chapitre, and you shall finde, that it was a coue-
nant made by God with *Leui*, that his priestes shoulde
obserue in iudgements, truthe and equitye. He pronoun-
ceth that the lippes of the prieste shoulde kepe knowled-
ge, that the lawe shoulde be required at his mouth,
because he is Goddes angell. Can there be anye thing that
might more assure vs off the meaning of that place then
this? *W. archie*

Malach. 2.

fol. 59. b.
14.

Act. 23.

As for that that you object of S. Paule, threatening venge-
aunce to the high prieste, and of S. Peter also and S. Iohn the A-
postles, who woulde not obeye him because the last condition off
commaunding after Goddes lawe was lacking: for S. Paule
I might answere yow, that he repented him afterwarde and
pleadid ignoraunce, although I doubte not but that bothe
by him he was iustlie reprehended, and by S. Peter and S.
Iohn lawfullie disobeyed: And yea will it not folowe, that
therefore in this place of Deuter, whiche we handle, the
prieste might erre in his iudgements. Will yow knowe
why

why? Forsothe because as saith S. Cyprian, *our Lords*
being now crucified, the priestes began to be sacrilegious, wicked
and bloudie, and retained nothing of priestly honour and aucto-
ritie. Lo M. Nowell why yow maie not conclude as yow
doe, because the priestes had nowelost their auctoritie that
before they had. The high priestes (yow saie) charged them not
as geylde of deathe for this disobedience. The texte hathe that
they sent the apostles awaie, *non inuincuntur quomodo puni-*
rent eos propter populum &c. Not knowing howe to punish
them because of the people. Are yow able to saie that yf
they had not stode in this feare of the people that they
did, that the apostles shoulde hane escaped so? Thus far I
haue thought good to ioine with you concerning this pla-
ce, from the which (craving helpe of Bucer and Brentius)
yow thought to scape by wrangling about the wordes, *ita*
legimus, according to his lawes. Whiche wordes too when
all is done, if they were conditionall as yow woulde make
men beleue they are, be to the vtermoste fulfilled in the
pope. Of whose predecessours being in nombre 135, yowe
are not able to name anie one, that euer delinered to the
churche anie wrong faith or false opinion to be beleued.
If anie of them erred as men, yea were they privileged as
the successours of Peter, and either spedeilie forsoke the sa-
me, or keping it within their owne breastes, were neuer by
goddess providence suffred, to vtter it to the hurte of the
churche. For a notable example whereof *Vigilius* the pope
maieserue vs. Who obtaining that seate by vnlawfull mea-
nes, that is to saie vpon promise made to the Emperesse to
restore to the bishoprike of Constantinople *Anthemius*,
deprived thereof by *Agapetus* for heresie: as sone as euer
he entred into that seate, the emperesse challenging him off
his promise (so was his wicked minde by gods speciall pro-
vidence

Lib. 1.
epist. 3.

S. 24.

M. 4.

11. 2. 21.
2. 2. 21.

vidence suddenly altered) made answer, that either then, he would restore an heretike to his seate from whence he was iustlie removed, he would sooner suffer all the extremitie that might be. And so did he in dede, lying longe in prison, suffer both the hongre, colde, and diuerse other tormentes. Whiche notwithstanding he acknowledged to be worthilie due vnto him for his greatesse offense. The priuileage therefore I saie of this seate is such, that we be assured by his promise that saide to Peter that his faithe should not faile, that as hitherto the pope hath allwaies fedde Christes church with the sounde faithe and wholesome doctrine, so shall he continue to doe so long as there is in earth the anie church at all, that is so longe as there is a worlde, so long as Christes church militant here in earth and triumphant in heauen, dwell nor in one to ioine together. And therefore when yow take of the popes tyrannie to doe and say what he listeth, yow take without booke M. Nowell, and continue youre accustomed wont of sclaundering and yeag.

Because yow well vnderstode that all this roving talke of yours was wide from the marcke that we shoote at, and that happelic some one might saie vnto you, that the matter which nowe is handled, is whether there ought to be one generall heade in Christes church or no, and that therefore this place was brought in, not to proue who it shoulde be, or where he shoulde be resident: yow thought it good to saie somewhat to this effecte, to proue that this place is withrulie applied to the prouise of the supremacy of one heade: But howe proue yow this M. Nowell?

Nowell.
fo. 60. a. 6

Because S. Cyprian alleageth this and other like places of scripture, to make for the feuerall auctoritie of euerie peculier bishop

bishopp in his owne diocesse, nor of one heade over all bishoppes.
 What the case of Mr. Nowell, maye not one tene be applied
 by diuerse men diuersely, and yet no sense contrary to the
 truthe? The commandement of S. Paule *Omnia uobis
 potestatibus sublimioribus subditi sitis.* Let euery soule be sub-
 iect to the higher powers, maketh especiallie for the obedi-
 ence of Emperours and kinges, because it importeth no lesse
 that they be obeyed: yet will you not. I thinke saie, that if
 the iustice of a shiere, or maior of a citie, would bringe
 this tēte to some stubborne man to wyn him to obedi-
 ence, that it were euill applied, or were not (when occasion
 serueth thertoe) to be applied to the obedience of a kyng
 or emperour, because it serueth also for his subiects. The
 meaning of S. Cyprian was to perswade obedience to sache
 priestes as haue the charge to rule, to the whiche purpose
 the example of the high priest is well applied, if it were for
 no other cause, yet even for this, that euery bishopp is in
 his owne diocesse the high and chiefe priest of all the or
 ther, that be of the same, and no lesse to be obeyed (in that
 portion of his charge) of those that be vnder him, when
 he him selfe is bounde to obeye the pope, the chiefe and
 heade in earthe of all bishoppes.

Dorman,

Rom. 12.

Howell
 R. d. d. a.

Howell

It agreeth not (you saie) that because the Iues one nation, had
 one chiefe priest, therefore all nations thorough out the worlde
 shoulde haue one high priest over all other.

Nowell.

You misuse the reader with the terme (nation). For now
 as one nation, but as one Synagoge, as the onelie church
 that then God had, they had one high priest. And so all
 Christians being but one catholike church though manie
 nations, ought to haue one heade bishopp over all nations.
 For as for the impossibilitie that yet once againe you re-

Dorman.

Howell
 R. d. d. a.

manito

111

Luc. 11.

Nowell.
a. 11. b. 28.

Dorman.

111

manito

Nowell.
A. 15.

peate of haning one heade, it hathe bene sufficiently pro-
ned allreadie, that that plea of youres is of no force, and so
far wide from the truth, that it is not otherwise possible to
have the church well governed and without schismes, God
having nowe taken that ordre. Which I saye as of the church
consisting of fraile and sinfull men. For as touching
God, as you saie it is possible to him to governe the church
without one heade: so saye we it is not impossible to him,
to give vs one heade to rule the whole; and so to direct him
that he neuer faile in his decrees, concerning oure faithe.
Which because hetherto in dede he hathe done, and beside
hath promised that the faithe of Peter shall not faile, we sa-
ye of necessitie, that it is and must be so.

S. Cyprian (you saye) alleageth this place of Deuteronomie
of obedience to the high priest, as well for the auctoritie of Rogatianus
as for his owne.

This is no more then you saied before, which you ofte
repeate to seme by ofte saing one thing to saie somewhat.
In dede it confirmeth verie muche my answer made be-
fore. For whereas it is manifest that this place concerning
the obedience due to the high priest, is alleaged as well for
the auctoritie of Rogatianus who was an inferiour bishop,
as also for S. Cyprian the archebishop and Metropolitane
of Africa, it foloweth, that S. Cyprian in the citing and al-
leaging therof had no other meaning, then to perswade o-
bedience to euerie bishop, of what calling so euer he were,
bishop, Archebishop, primate, patriarke or pope. Excepte
you will saye that he was of the minde that betwene bis-
shoppes and Archebishops he put no difference.

Yea verilie saie you of that minde was S. Cyprian in dede.
For he confesseth in the beginning of his epistle to Rogatianus,
that he did but wth courtesy and not of dute, refer this matter of
his

his disobedient deacon by complaint to him &c.

Dorman.

I neede not muche to trauaile to proue that S. Cyprian shoulde not be of this minde, seing that the learned knowe that the verie worde it selfe *Archiepiscopus*, vsed in the church bothe in S. Cyprians time and long before, doth proue the contrarie, and youre selfe haue vsed before the worde chiefe prelates of euerie prouince which were too foolish to be saide if there were betwene bishoppes no difference at all. The wordes of S. Ciprian praising *Rogatianus* for that he did honorably towards him, and according to his accustomed humilitie, in referring the matter of his stubborn deacon to him being his archbishop, whereas he him selfe by his owne auctoritie might haue punished him, make nothing for this equalitie betwene all bishoppes. If they had bene equall, then might belike *Rogatianus* haue punished aswell one of S. Cyprians diocesse, as he might the deacon who was of *Rogatianus* diocesse. Which if you saye, then will it folowe that euerie diocesse hath not now one chiefe ruler but manie. If you will not so saye, then muste you yealde to this, that *Rogatianus* complaining to the Archbishop, graunted, that notwithstanding that superioritie which he had ouer all that were of his diocesse, there was yett the archbishop aboute him. And if these two maie stande together: Euerie bishop is the heade and chiefe priest of his owne diocesse, and yett there is one archbishop aboute all: then why may not these propositions stande together, Euerie Archbishop is chiefe of the prouince where he is Archbishop, and yett there is one pope chiefe of the all? *Rogatianus* did here more then he needed: who denieth that? If the B. of London haue in his diocesse a stubborne and vnruely priest, who doubteth but he maie first punish him by his owne auctoritie if he list? And yett if he refer

Li. 3. epist.

9.

Howe

Li. 3. epist.

name

A DISPROVE OF M.

the matter to the Archebishop of Caunterburie; he dothe
the Archebishop more honour, and sheweth him selfe to be
the more humble. The Archebishop is an eye to ouersee
the bishop that he doe his duety, as the pope is to ouersee
all. So long as the bishop is habile to take sufficient ordre for
all occurrentes in his diocesse him selfe, if he vse not this po-
wer, but referre it to the Archebishop, he dothe more then
he needeth, but yett honorable for the Archebishops
parte, and humbly for his owne.

Nowell.
fo. 61. a. 1.

Dorman.

Where you saye, that such by S. Cyprian transgresse the
lawe of God in the Deuteronomie, that make them selues Bishop-
pes ouer other bishoppes. &c.

It is true in S. Cyprians meaning, that is in such as Pu-
pianus was, who being an inferiour membre, no primate,
no patriarche, no pope, would take vpon him to iudge S.
Cyprian the archebishoppe and iudge appointed of God.
This place includeth no more the pope who is heade bi-
shop ouer all other bishopps, and heade iudge ouer all iudges,
then it dothe note the bishoppes of euery diocesse, for
taking vpon them, to be the iudges of the curates that be
vnder them, who in their severall cures be iudges in Chri-
stes steede it can not be denied. For they haue power gi-
uen them of God to loose and binde, to iudge inter lepram
& lepram betwene syn and syn. It pertaineth I saye no mo-
re to the pope, then it dothe to the Archebishop, who iud-
ging and ouerlooking the bishoppes doings, falleth not I
trust by youre owne iudgement into this faulce that S. Cy-
prian noted in Pulpianus. If then the bishop maye iudge o-
uer such priestes as be vnder him (Goddes iudges in their
particuler cures) and the Archebishops againe ouer the
bishoppes, without anye offence, why may not I praye you
the pope be iudge of the doings of the Archebishops and
all

all other? Your argument which is this: Papias the bish
shoppe, might not be iudge ouer the doinges of Saint Cyprian
who was an Archebishoppe: Ergo the pope, maye not be the
iudge off all other bishoppes, is like to this: M. Nowell maye
not make him selfe iudge ouer the bishop of London, ergo
the Archb. of Cauntorbury dothe not well, and is a false
vsurper in making him selfe heade bishop ouer all the bish
shoppes and chiefe iudge ouer all the iudges in his prouin
ce. For such a one as is M. Nowell, was Papias that prou
de arrogant man, a priuate persone for anye thinge that
appeareth to the contrarye, as he is. This propertie whi
che you falselye note to be in the pope, is the propertie of
your good Lorde M. Grindall with his felowes, who occu
pye the places of other laifull bishoppes year lining, and
therefore make them selues (as S. Cyprian noteth of Papi
nus) *bishoppes ouer bishoppes, and iudges ouer the iudges off God
for the time appointed.*

That the place of Gregorie Nazianzen
was applyed aptly and to
the purpose.

The 10. Chapitre

BECAUSE I saye that I remembre saying off Gre
gotye Nazianzene, yow infer thereupon M. Nowell
that men maye note that I haue a good memorie &c, which not
withstanding had I (yow saie) enlarged to a fewe wordes going
before, it had appeared, that these wordes being spoken of one god
gouerning the whole worlde, had bene impertinent to proue that
there ought to be one pope to gouerne the whole church.

YOU maye note good readers that M. Nowell hath mo
re wit then honestie, that can caill at a phrase of speache
pleasantly, when the matter it selfe he can not reprove
trulye. For yow saie M. Nowell full clerckely, that this pla
ce is altogether impertinent to the purpose. Yeat in the

very

An absur
dercafon.

Howe
p. 2.

Domini

sh. 61.
fol. 61.b.

Nowell
fol. 61.b.
3.

Domini

b. 39

verye nexte wordes folowing youre shrewde wit put yow
in remembraunce, that there was a waie how I might bring
it, to make year at the least some shewe to the purpose. And
therefore you saye.

Nowell.
b. 19.

Nowe if M. Dorman list to transfer the sentence from God go-
uerning all the worlde, to men ruling in the worlde, after this for-
re. Nazianzene saith there is one onely God who governeth all:
Ergo there must be one onely pope or heade bishoppe to gouerne
all the church: I denie the argument, and affirme that it foloweth
no more, then that there must be one only Emperour to gouerne
all the worlde.

Dorman.

I reason not M. Nowell altogether so barelye as yow
surmise, that there is but one God, and that therefore there
must be but one heade to gouerne the church. The force
of my conclusion dependeth vpon the reason why there is
but one God, which is this: *where many rule there is sedition.*
This argument of myne I so little repent me of, that I will
here presse you with one other comming from the same
moulde. S. Austen labouring to proue the certeintie of one
God, emongest other reasons vseth this for one. *Sicut enim
in ipsa rerum natura maior est auctoritas vnius ad vnum omnia
redigentis, &c.* For euen as in naturall thinges the auctoritye of
one bringing all thinges to one is greater, neither hath any multi-
tude in the kinde of men any power, but such as consenseth, that
is, shinketh one thing: so in religion the auctoritye of them ought to
be greater and of more credite, who call vs to one. Of the place
of Gregorie Nazianzene as before I reasoned, that as there
was but one god in the worlde to auoide confusion: so the-
re must be in the church but one heade for the same cau-
se. Euen so from this saying of S. Augustine I reason in lyke
maner, that as the auctoritye of them is greater in religion,
who call vs to one God, because their opinion maketh mo-
re

Lib. de ve-
ra religio.
cap. 19.

Commo

ste for the conseruation of vnitye, so ought their auctori-
tye and credite to accounted greatest, who call vs in the
churche to one heade. Now what haue yow to saie against
this maner of reasoning M. Nowell? Yow denie the argu-
ment, and saie that it foloweth no more, then that there must
be one onely Emperour to gouerne all the worlde.

fo. 62. a. 3.

This fonde reason of youres hath bene sufficiently an-
swered. It is in dede the effect of youre whole answere in
this youre Reprouse as yow call it. Yeathau yow not (so
greate a clercke yow are) in youre whole boke, brought so
much as one pore sely reason for the confirmation of it.
But yow (as if yow were in the pulpit *tanquam auctori-
tatem habens*) affirme manie thinges stoutely, and wil be
leued at youre worde, without reason or proufe at all.
Where yow saie: There is no confusion in the worlde nor disor-
dre, for that sundry partes of it haue sundry ciuile gouernours:
Surelie youre wittes failed yow muche, and yow nodded
a little M. Nowell. For what wise man seeth not, what lear-
ned man readeth not, of yearelie and almost daily batailes,
quarrelles, contentions, bloudeshead, conspiracies, and of in-
finite suche disordre to be in the worlde at this present, and
to haue allwaies bene by the reason of sundrie ciuile go-
uernours? Oure Saniour when it pleased him to take fle-
she, and redeme man, chose that state wherein mooste quiete
and rest shoulde be, that men might so the better attende
to the preaching of goddes word, which by warres and tu-
multuouse hurly burlies can not but be hindred. He chose
to come at that time, when but 17. yeares before, the whole
knowen worlde of Europe, Asia and Afrike, was vnder
the obedience of one Romaine emperour *Octavianus Augu-
stus*. In that state the worlde was ruled certeine hundred
L1 years

The 11.
and 12.
chap.Nowell.
a. 13.

Dorman.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

Alexander
ab Alexan-
dro lib. 1.
Gema. dier.
cap. 14.

yeares after, vntill the Christian faith was published and dilated vnto all the partes of the worlde. Doe we not reade M. Nowell, that the same emperour August *his clausit Ianum*, as muche to saie, had twise in his daies a perfecte peace thorough out all the partes of the worlde, yea thrise as some write? Before that state of one vniuersall Emperour was, and sence that state hath decaied, how manie warres haue bene to the disquieting of all Christendome stirred vp? How manie battailes cruelly fought? How muche innocent bloude vnmercifully spilt? What one yeare in one place of the worlde or other, hath not plentifully brought furthe suche fruites as these are? Are not all histories full? Haue we not daily experience? Haue we not hearde of the Turkes warres scarce yeat colde against vs at the Isle off Malta, of the late warres in Fraunce and Scotland, of almoste the continuall warres in the daies of Charles the fift, the, now with Fraunce, nowe against the Mores, nowe in Germanie, now in Italie it selfe? All this is but in one parte of *Europa*. If we had before oure eyes the actes of other countries, how muche might be saide thereof? And yeat M. Nowell as though all the worlde were shutt vpp in the house where he dwelleth at Poules, saith there is no confusion in the worlde nor disordre, for that sundrie partes of the same haue sundrie ciuile gouernours. This is I confesse a matter more mete for some practised Counselour to debate, then for scholers suche as I am professing no such policie to entreate of. It reacheth I wote well beyonde the compasse of my discourse to saie herein, but some small parte of that which might be saied. Yeat this small note, shall I trust be sufficient to instructe the ignorant, and habble to moue the learned to farder consideration.

Nowell,
2. 16.

Yow saie, the scriptures declare it to be so appointed by
God,

God, that sundrie partes of the worlde shoulde haue sundrie ciuile gouernours.

Eccles. 17

Dorman.

So hathe the church to sundrie seuerall gouernours, in sundrie seuerall diocesses, and yet one chiefe heade ouer all notwithstanding. And therefore that texte might be verified well inough, although there were one generall Emperour or other ruler ouer all the worlde. And suerlie if this place of *Ecclesiasticus* were so to be vnderstande, as that it did forbid the hauing of one generall ruler ouer the whole: neuer woulde yowe maie be suer oure Sauiour, haue chosen that time to be borne in, and that for a speciall liking (as al writers agree) that he had in that state of gouernement that then was. But if it were so that God had appointed the ordre of the worlde to be suche, as that there should be of necessitie in euerie particuler countrie a particuler heade, and no one ouer the whole (which negatiue wordes the scripture hathe not): yet might there be a secrete cause of goddes prouidence, why this ordre shoulde be rather in worldly gouernement then in spirituall, whiche we be not worthy to knowe. Perhappes to be a punishment for sinne this ordre was taken, that one off vs might be a whippe and scourge to the other, whiche although God by his iustice doe to oure bodies, thorough battaile and warre punishing them, yet woulde he not of his mercie so punish by schismes and heresies oure soules. You note to the Reader after the *Hagiographa* in the English Bibles, that this booke of *Ecclesiasticus* is of the nombre of the, that are not to be alleaged for the proufe of doctrine. Nowe what double dealing is this I praye you M. Nowell, there to reprove it, and here to alleage it, and grounde a doctrine vpon it neuer hearde of before, to witte, that of necessitie euerie countrie must haue a seuerall supreme go-

The booke of Ecclesiasticus reiected by the protestants, alleaged.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

uernour? If you shoulde preache openly this doctrine in pulpite M. Nowell, how soone woulde you either proue a traitour your selfe, or make other traitours? For were it not thinke you a faulte to the crowne of Englād, in the nature of high treason, to saie that Ireland being a seuerall countrie diuided from England by the maine Ocean, ought to haue a seuerall gouernour other then Englishe? Were it not treason for youre brethren protestantes of these lowe countries, to preache by this texte as you write, that because Spaine and Flaundes be farre diuerse and seuerall countries, for this cause they ought not to be vnder one heade prince, and kinge as they are? Therefore if you loue the quiet of the realme, and esteeme youre dutie to youre seueraigne and oures, twange no more vpon that stringe I warne you like a frende. You prosecute youre fonde argument and saye.

Nowell.
a. 17.

So is their no disordre that seuerall churches haue seuerall bishoppes to their heades.

Dorman.

No disordre at all, but moste conuenient ordre, if those seuerall bishoppes obeye the one heade placed by Christe ouer them. But to make those seuerall bishoppes to rule the seuerall churches, without recourse when occasion shall requier to a higher as you doe, we saye it is a greate disordre.

Nowell.
a. 27. b. 1.

To returne to Nazianzene his saing, *where is no rule there is no ordre: where many rule there is sedition:* you saye, that if manie magistrates haue equall auctoritie in one common wealth, or if manie ecclesiasticall persones, haue equall auctoritie in one seuerall church, it is like to their fantasie who woulde haue manie equall goddes to rule the worlde. But one seuerall ruler in one seuerall dominion, one seuerall bishop in one seuerall diocesse, doe resemble one God ruling one whole worlde.

I take.

I take you at youre worde M. Nowell, that if many magistrates haue equall rule in one common wealthe, it is like to their fantasie who woulde haue manie equall goddes to rule the worlde. But the church of Christe saie I, is but one christian common wealthe, therefore it foloweth by youre owne confelsion, that if manie doe equally rule, without relation to one head, it is like to their fantasie, who woulde haue manie equall goddes to rule the worlde.

One seuerall bishop in one seuerall diocesse dothe not resemble one God ruling one worlde as you dreame, but one chiefe bishop in the catholike church, whiche in your crede you professe to be but one, he M. Nowell resembleth trulie one God, without anie presumption at all, seing goddes pleasure is it shalbe so. It was no presumption in the apostles to sit still and suffer Christe to washe their feete. You knowe what Peter had saide vnto him for streining curtosye as he did. That you saie, it is a thing vheard of but in the pope of Rome, there you made your bargaine somewhat wiselie. We graunt the same, and adde beside, that it were intollerable presumption for anie other to lay claime, to that auctoritie. And yea we trust because S. Peter was pope, and (as Chrysostome saith) maister of the whole worlde, and thereto out of the compasse of the last nine hundred yeares, and had this auctoritie by Christe and not from Phocas: you wilbe the better for his sake to all the rest. Now foloweth youre conclusion.

VWherefore M. Dorman and D. Harding maie as well saie, that the worlde is seditionously gouerned by diuerse Princes, as the church by seuerall bishoppes. But as Nazianzenie neuer dreamed of one Emperour ouer all the worlde to auoide sedition, though he teacheth there is one God: no more did he though he teache one Christe, yea euer dreame of one only heade bishop or pope. &c.

I haue oftentimes shewed here before, that the regiment

Ll 3. of the

Dorman.

An argument against M. Nowell vpon his owne graunte.

fo. 62. b. 4.

Iohn. 3.

Homil. viii. in Ioh. 3.

Nowell. b. 19.

Dorman.

A DISPROVE OF M.

of the churche is farre different from that of the worlde. It shalbe nedelesse to repeate it here againe. Yow can not therefore reason from the one to the other. Whereof Nazianzeno dreamed I knowe not; of this I am suer, that to applye by drift of reasoning the sentence of an Auctor to that which he neuer ment or inteded (so that to his meaning and intent it be in no wise reptynant or contrarye) is not onely no dreame, but the vsage also and practise off learned men. And therefore in the lawe, manye a case is decided by wordes which the lawier neuer dreamed peradventure, that they euer shoulde be so applied. The better and more excellent the Author is, the more ample sense maye be gathered in his writinges. As in the Scripture especially, the infinite variety of commentaries doth declare. Wherefore I doe the more meruell that you a man traded and brought vp in good lettres, and a professour off the same, shoulde raue rather waking, then talke after suche a sorte in yowre slepe dreaming. But I knowe the cause, youre parte is here altogether to reprove, not to proue, as by the title of youre boke you warned vs before.

Nowell.
fol. 63 a. 1.
Psalms. 86

He speaketh further in his sleape and sayeth. *Howe shall we then saie, oure lord loueth Syon aboue al the tabernacles of Iacob?* What this dothe meane or to what purpose it is, I knowe not. Nor I beleue M. Dorman when he waketh (if euer he wake) can tel him selfe.

Dorman.

I am glad that my name ministreth you so muche matter of scoffing mirth, and sorie that so excellent inuention shoulde be more then halfe loste, for that that the gretest parte of youre ministres thorough lacke off the Latine tongue, can not perceiue that swete allusion, that is betwene *dormire* in Latin, and Dorman in Englishe

glishe. But thinke you thus to passe ouer the scripture with a sleepish scoffe? Thinketh youre noddis nowlle (I might saye M. Nowell, if I list to contende with you in this kinde of eloquence) so to delude the worde of God, that yow maye call it a dreame, and so let it slepe? No M. Nowell true the will ouercome, when it shalbe with you as it was in the beginning. And therefore I repeate againe: if the Synagoge of the Iues had one heade to rule them, and the church more ample, and therefore in more daunger of schisme, and consequently standing in more nede of one heade, haue yeat no suche heade: then I saye M. Nowell, howe dothe God rendre *Syon* the church of Christe, aboue the Synagoge of the Iues? By *Syon* is ment therefore in this place the church, which oure Lorde loueth more then the Synagoge, as Saint Augustine vpon this place dothe in these wordes well declare. *Diligit illam spiritualem ciuitatem super omnia figurata, quibus intinabatur illa ciuitas semper manens.* He loueth that spirituell citie aboue all the figuratiue thinges, by the which that citie which euer shall continue was signified. This being therefore true, it foloweth, that he hath left to vs aswell one heade to rule vs and directe vs in one vniforme faithe, as he gaue to the Synagoge. Nowe am I awake M. Nowell yow see, and can tell you, and haue tolde yow what I meane by these wordes. If yow coulde as well tell what you meant by that muscull twang of youre harpe, you should take out of many mennes heades manie odde crachettes. You nede not now to be carefull for *Pi*ghins waking, or to make any combat with his spirit for the matter, who slepeth not, excepte you will defende the heresie of them that beleue so of all soules, but is in perfect rest I trust, or in assured hope to be.

In psalm.
86.

Howe

A DISPROVVE OF M.

Howe God hath provided better for the church then for the Synagoge, and of the strength of my reason drawn from the Synagoge to the church.

The 20. Chapter.

Nowell.
fol. 63. a.
24.
Dorman.

God hath provided for the church (you saye) as well as he did for the Iues and better too.

Here you graunte all that I saied and more too. But let vs marcke youre mightie reasoning howe you proue it I praye you.

Nowell.

For whereas they had but one chiefe bishop for their whole nation, he hath provided for the church in euery diocesse one, that they may be the better gouerned and lesse pained to trauaile far, for the decision of their doubttes and controuersies.

Dorman.

To this saye we, if God had done no otherwise, he had done lesse for the church then for the Iues. For better it is to haue one heade vnto the whiche doubttes of greate importaunce maye be referred, then to haue manie in manie places, and euerie one (without respect to one chiefe) to doe as he shall thinke good. Howe thinke you M. Nowell, is it not better in one familie to haue one Maister, in one citie one Maier, in one shiere one lieutenant, then in a familie manie maisters, in a citie manie Maiors, in a shiere many lieutenantes? I know not who gouerneth in your house, your wife, or you, or bothe: but this I thinke I maye be bolde to saye, that if youre wife were not quarter maister onely, but as muche maister as you, that you were not therefore in better case then youre nexte neighbour, that had the whole rule of his house him selfe. If the streights off youre owne house like you not, loke vpon the largenes of the whole realme, and iudge whether it be better to haue one

lieg

NOWELL'S REPROVER.

liege soueraigne or manie. Yow hearde S. Augustines opi-
 nion (a better diuine I trowe then yowe) touching this
 matter before, concluding that their auctoritie was greater,
 and they of better credits, that reduced all thinges to one
 God, because in the worckes of nature he saied it was so.
 So in the church M. Nowell, saing that as God is one the
 faithe is also one, one heade is better to conserue that one
 faithe and the vnitie thereof, then many. Therefore if the
 Iues had one heade bishoppe, and the church diuerse hea-
 des, it is by all reason worse provided for. Excepte you will
 saie, that to haue manie equall rulers in one bodie, in one
 common wealthe, is better then to haue only one. Which
 notwithstanding before yow resembled to their fantasy, who
 woulde haue manie equall goddes to rule the worlde. But
 yow saie, there is much labour and paine saved. Here while
 yow seke for ease yow leese vnitie: while yow diminish
 paines, yow prepare the high way to the multiplying off
 schismes. Yow haue an eye to the resorting to that one he-
 ade from all places of the worlde, but yow confide not the
 fruite of peace and vnitie that is thereby procured. Ma-
 ke diuerse equall heades in the church, and you shall per-
 uer be hable to auoide schismes in the same, whiche
 S. Hierome as yow hearde before, saith can not be kepte
 out of particuler churches, without there be one prieste of
 percellesse auctoritie aboue the rest. Now let the learned rea-
 der iudge whether paines be well redemed, by suche an in-
 estimable benefite. Yow clatter still that this heade emon-
 gest the Iues was but of one nation. I tell yowe againe as
 I dyd before, it was the church that God had in earthe at
 that time.

But M. Dorman dealeth not truly with the Apologie &c. The
 Apologie saith, that as the church decayed in the olde lawe, where
 Mm

Lib. de vi-
 uarieg. ca.
 25.

instincti
 -asit
 21. 10. 10.
 10. 10. 10.
 10. 10. 10.
 10. 10. 10.
 10. 10. 10.
 10. 10. 10.
 10. 10. 10.
 10. 10. 10.

Nowell.
 fo. 62. b. 7.

was the same God, the same Christe, the same holie ghoste &c. then as is nowe, so maie it and hath it decayed now. M. Dorman handleth the matter as though he coulde proue by the Apologie, that he was the same God, the same Christe, the same holie ghoste &c. in the iustie church as is nowe, therefore must there be one heade bishop over all the christian churches thorough out the world, as there was one heade bishop over all the Iues, whiche was moyses, which that we haue loste and circumcised nowe, for that the Iues had it then.

Dorman.
The rea-
son of the
Apologie,
The church
decayed in
the olde la-
we, ergo it
maie and
hath decayed
in the
newe, con-
fured.

I merueile that yow be not ashamed to make anie men-
tion of that foolish, false and blasphemouse reason ysed by
the Apologie. For the concealing whereof reason woulde
yow shoulde rather haue thanked me, then haue accused
me of wrong dealing. But wilt thou see good Reader how
vntimely I haue done. For the because the proposition off
one God, one Christe &c. brought by the Apologie, ser-
ued not for the prouing of that for whiche it was brought,
I haue bene compelled and true to proue a true
strong reason. But why shoulde it not serue his purpose as
well yow wilt see, in mine. I will tell yow the cause. One
essentiall cause why this argument of the Apologie, The
Synagogue hath decayed. Ergo, the church hath decayed, defen-
ded here stoutely by M. Nowell, shoulde not be good, is,
because God hath made other manner of promises for the
continuance of his church, then euer he made to the Sy-
nagoge. He hath promised that hell gates shall not prouaile
against it. This were not true if it had bene either these 15.
or nine hundred years either, ouerrun with heresies. He
hath appointed it to continue with the sonne, and to re-
maine till the moon be taken awaie. If because the church
of the olde lawe was brought to that paucitie that some ti-
mes there were but eight, as in Noes time, or but *Eliu* al-
one as he was perswaded, but yeat in dede 7000. mo as God
tolde him, and that in Israel (for in Iuda notwithstanding
the

Matth. 16.

Psalme. 71.

Gen. 7.

1. King. 19.

the church flourisheth) although your Apologie had not
 reade so farre: If I saie the church of Christe might last
 15. hundred yeares continuant be brought to the same ex-
 se nowe, where were all these promises with which other
 diligently of late gathered together, made to the church
 and of the church? If because in the olde lawe God was
Notus in India, et in Israel magnam vocem dedit. knowne in
 Iurie and his name greate in Israel, but so no farther it maye
 be lawfull for you to defende your secrete consuetude at
 Geneva or elles where, where is then, *et ubi est illa* all na-
 ons beginning at Hierusalem? Where is the prophacie of Da-
 uid spoken before hande of Christes kingdome the church,
 that it should rule from sea to sea, and from the flood to the
 ende of the world? Seing therefore these greates promises ha-
 ue bene made by allmightie God to the church, whereas
 to the Synagoge the figure of these things were made
 such: although it decayed, although at the last it vanished
 away as the priesthood and I have said: we can not conclude
 that therefore the same should happen to the church which
 hath other manner of staies to hold it up. The compilers of
 your Apologie might be ashamed to saye so, if they had
 not abandoned all shame and honesty, to abuse after this
 sorte the examples of the holier scripture so prouing that
 Christes church might faile, because in the olde lawe it
 was brought to some peneitall, which reason they bo-
 rowed of the Donatistes those wicked heretikes, as ap-
 peareth by Saint Augustine who confuteth the same. And
 thus haue I shewed you Mr. Nouell a cause, why this
 ing of your Apologie could not be applied to the church
 of Christe that is nowe it remaineth that I answer
 your objection made of circumcision, which you saie I
 make as well promisable to be kept nowe, because it was y
 sed

In the
 Preface
 the 6. 7. 8.
 and 10.
 chapters.

Psalm. 75.

Luce. 24.

Psalm. 71.

2. 20. 101

*Lib. de v-
 nitat. eccle.
 cap. 12.*

*2. 21. M
 2. 11. 11
 2. 11. 11*

fed in the olde lawe, as proue the necessitie of one chiefe heade therby. No that I can not, I will in fewe wordes tell you a cause why. The newe lawe is called by the scripture *tempus correctionis* the time of reformation, because it correcteth and reformeth the olde whiche brought nothing to perfection. Circuncision in the olde lawe was one of those thinges, that God woulde in the time of grace take away, and substitute in the place thereof a better, that is Baptisme. So was not the placing of one heade ouer the Synagoge, which being done for the quieting of controuersies, you maye besuer God would no lesse shoulde continue in the ordre of his churchie which he loued so dearly, then in the Synagoge which was but a figure thereof. And yet if we shoulde folowe youre iudgement, the wil dome of God which came to reforme the olde lawe and make a newe perfect lawe, shoulde by appointing ouer his churchie manie heades for one, make the lawe in that pointe lesse perfecte then was the other. Thus you see I can not reason as you saye I might, circuncision in respect of baptisme being vtterly an imperfection of the lawe, whereas that ordre of one chiefe prieste was moste perfite and appointed to continue for ener, excepte you can proue, that God hath changed that ordre for the better, as he hath in taking away circuncision.

fol. 64. a.

M. No.
well a
false pro-
phete.

This first side of the. 64. leafe conteineth no other matter then greate bragges of the Apologie, withe a prophecie of M. Nowells, that none of the Romish cleargie shal ener be able to answere it to anie purpose. That prophecie is now thanks be to God proued false, and M. Nowell with all a vaine lier and a pelting prophete. And nowe I thinke that by this time all honest men will maruoll the lesse, to see so manie lies in this Reprouse of M. Nowelles, seing that he hath

he hath bene so frindely to shewe him selfe a patrone in defending this lewdelieng Apologie: of the whiche iff I haue made any lye, it is because I called it but a fardle of lyes, whereas I should haue called it as M. Nowell hath sentence taught me, a whole lighter.

You blame me not you saye, for alleaging anie thinge out of the olde Testamēt, but for my guilefull and vnttrue application of places of the olde Testament, and of the doctours to inche purposes as they apperteyne nothing vnto at all, nay are most contrarye to the same.

You refuse not scripture, but the wrōg applicatiō. So wil anie heretike saye to yow (except the Swenckfeldian) with whome you shall haue to doe. I applie this scripture as the catholike consent of all the worlde dothe applye it, whome folowe you in refusing it?

That there hath ben nothing proued by me, neither by reason, nor by examples of common weakhes, it is an impudent lye of yowres M. Nowell. I haue proued by both, that as euerie kingdome and countrie hath his temporall head to gouerne the same, by like statutes, lawes, and customes: so the church which is but one, muste haue one head to directe it in one faith and religion. No reason, no examples be againste me: for no reason admitteth, no example teacheth, that one bodie shoulde be better gouerned by manie heades then by one. And therefore that is an other lye, S. Cyprian and S. Hierome, thoughte they speake but of Byshoppes in their owne diocesse: Yea by greater reason their wordes take place in the whole church, as before hath bene declared. That euerie diocesse haue a peculier bishop it is not contrary to the Popes supremacy (as you vntuly say). And if it should be cōtrarie, how would you then auoide his reason, that would inferre here vpon, that the

Nowell.
b. 36.

Derman.

So. 65. 2. 3.

A lye. 52.

Nowell.
b. 36.

Derman.

Lye. 53.

Nowell.
b. 36.

Derman.

hauing then of severall governours of euerie shyre in a realme, shoulde be contrarie to the gouernement of one supreme gouernour the kinge or the Quene? Wel then feintge it is not cleane contrarie to the hauinge of one general heade, to haue manie inferiour heades, S. Cyprian and S. Hierome be not cleane contrarie to me, nor contrarie neither. This is therefore also a lye. I gaue to Leo such an epitheton as the whole councell of Calcedon gaue to him before. Yf you be angrie there at, wreke your selfe vpon them. Leo maketh for vs directlie all were it trewe, that you cattill of Zozimus. But as the reader vnderstandeth by this time I dowte not, both Zozimus is proued innocente, and you a false slanderer.

Neither the lawe, neither S. Cyprian vpon the lawe, speaketh against one head bishop. That is an other flat lye M. Nowell. For to testifie one sennie of scripture whiche S. Cyprian doth, is not to condemne an other. My collection from the one head bishop of the Synagog hath been proued to be good and lawfully deduced. I neede not here to repeate it againe.

Yea wilhe that I and all other aduersaries of the truth (so it pleaseth you to call vs) woulde reason from the shadowes off the olde lawe, as did S. Paine, but you saye we doe not.

You proue youre sayeng by a bare deniall. And then yowe passe to an other cleane wyde from the purpose. But suche is youre rhetorike moste worthye to be noted. Well let vs examine, youre wanderinge extrauagant note.

Ye haue made yow (yow saye) off Christians Iues: and oure felues off ministers off the Gospell Marconicall Leuites, &c.

Not we M. Nowell, but the primitive church as youre selfe

Lye. 54.

a. 18.

Lye. 55.

a. 21. A

Nowell.
a. 27.

Dorman.

Nowell.
fol. b. 14.

Dorman.

false confesse in this place, in saynge that these thinges beganne in Saint Hieromes tyme. Yow do well to folowe so neare the steppes of youre Maister Calvin, who charge the in his institutions the fathers of the primitive church, for counterfeiting the Iush manner of sacrificing more nearly, the other Christ had ordained, of the nature of the gospel did beare. But if these thinges were in the primitive church, then be are the people no more I praye you in hande, that you resemble the primitive church. If S. Hierome complained of suche thinges in his time, then appeale no more to the first six hundreth yeares if you be wise. Then terme not church ornaments late superstitions. But if S. Hierome complained not at all of suche ornaments of the church, but in the Epistle *ad Nepotianum* lamented only that weightier matters, as the true decking of Christes church with good ministers, were neglected: If in the epistle *ad Demetriadem*, he plainly saith: *Non reprehendo, non abnuo*: I reprove it not: I dissent not: then have you abused the reader with S. Hieromes name, and belied him once agayne. That whiche foloweth is but a common place of railing, wherem because you talke but in youre facultie, I can the lesse blame you. And to reason sadlye with an outrageous rayler, were but (you wot well) to preache to frantike Tom of Bedlem.

The foundation you saye, of altars, belles, banners, candel, &c. leaeneth to this reason of mine: *It was so in the shaddowe, therefore it must be so now in the body, in the truth, in our church*: This reason you thinke (you saie) that I like as well as the former reason of one heade, and that reason it is that so I shoulde thinke.

No M. Nowell, you are foully deceaued if you write as you thinke. But what? It seemeth to me that you foregotte your

Lib. 4.
cap. 18.

The fathers off the primitive church, scelaundered by Calvin.

Nowell.
fol. 67. a.
3.

Dorman.
m. 11

your selfe. Will you I praye you on high dayes, when you distribute those holyc misteries of youres, weare no cope? Or if you doe, muste the foundation of the wearing thereof be groundd vppon the Iuish ceremonies? No you will answere, I weare it because the Quenes Maiesties iniunctions will haue me doe so. And oure priestes weare them because the lawes of the church will haue them doe so. Iff of youre doinges the Princes lawe maye be the grownde: Whie maye not the church be the same of oures? Now if the Prince may commaunde the minstre to weare a cope, Why maye not the same commaunde the bishop to weare a mitre, albes and tunicles? Whye maye not by the same commaundement, altars, belles, banners, candels, plentie of golde and siluer, be brought into the church? And then if the Prince maye commaunde it, why maye not the church of Christe doe as muche? Thus reteine we these thinges as commaunded by the church, not as vsed by the Iues. Who euer vseth them so is a Iue: who so vseth them so, sinneth deadly. Neither is the reason like, why I should reason from ceremonies in the lawe, appointed but for the while (as you woulde haue me) to that, by whiche I argue from thinges foreshadowed in the Synagoge to continue in the church for euer.

Nowell.
a. 13.

You procede, and (after my maner of reasoning) you aske, why you maye not also reason for the scriptures to be had in a language that the people dothe vnderstande: For priestes to haue wiues, for images to be taken awaye, seing that in the Iuish church, all the people, men, women and children, had the scripture in a language that they did well vnderstand, the Leuites and priestes had wiues and children, seing that in that church there were no Images, especiallie when reason beside the lawe proueth that it ought to be so:

Dorman.

Who can denie suche a frende his requeste? Will yow gladly

gladlye learne, why my argumente shoulde holde and not
yours? Listen a while and you shall knowe. Firste for the
Scriptures, I take not here vpon me to resolue that que-
stion, whether it be expedient that they shoulde be in the
vulgar tongue or no. For I knowe it is impertinent to our
matter. But to youre question I answer, that whereas you
saie that women and children had the scripture in a lan-
guage that they did well vnderstand, that is once false: for
firste that Hebrue tongue, wherein the scriptures were
written, was not the common tongue, that the people v-
sed amongst them selves, but suche as being peculier to
the learned, coude not beinge vttered by the priestes be vn-
derstande, excepte he did firste expounde and interprete it.
Nexste beinge written without pointes, that is without anye
vowell at all noted in the texte, as we haue it now pointed,
when or by whom it is not certeinly knowen, but by
the learned Iust them selues as it is thought, beinge gathe-
red together in a counsell at a towne called *Tiberie*, it fo-
loweth that the vnlearned, coude as euill reade it as vnder-
stande it beinge readen, till it were expounded. And for
this cause the 72. elders had onely power and auctoritie to
interprete the scripture, and to reade it to the people, as here
in the Chapter by you alleaged, *Moyse* dyd. This beinge
most true, as for the first point we haue the testimonie of
that learned bishop, *Theodoretus* the B. of *Cyrrus*, for the
nexste (that of longe time the hebrue tongue remained vn-
pointed) the consent of the beste stories: howe had then
the people of the Iuishe church, men, women, and children,
the scripture in a language, that they did well vnderstande
beinge readen by other? The wordes of *Theodoretus* are the-
se, *Vocem Hebraicam arbitror esse sacram. Quemadmodum e-*
nim in templis Graecorum quidam sunt literarum characteres pe-

3. ad. 1. 4.

In quest. in
Gen. 9. 60

N n

culiores

culiaret, quos sacros appellasunt: Sic deus omnium per Moysen
 donauit hanc linguam, non naturalem, sed ad docendum apiam.
 Siquidem cum reliqui omnes loquantur lingua gentis suae in qua
 nati fuerint, & nati in Italia Italorum utantur voce, qui in
 Graecia voce Graecorum, qui in Perside Persarum, & qui in
 Egipto lingua Aegiptiorum loquantur: nihilominus nulli pauci
 Hebraeorum reperiuntur, qui statim hebraica lingua utantur, sed
 eorum apud quos nati sunt. Deinde cum parum adoleuerint, do-
 centur literarum characteres, & discunt literis scripturam diui-
 nam hebraica voce scriptam. That is to saie. The hebrue tonge
 I thinke to be holie, for as in the Greke temples there be
 certaine peculiar characters of lettres whiche they call
 holie: euen so the God of all, by Moyses hath geuen this
 tongue, not naturall but apte to teache: for whereas all o-
 ther do speake the tonge of their owne nation, wherein
 they were borne, and they which be borne in Italia vse
 the Italian tongue, being borne in Greece speake the greke
 tongue, in Persia the Persian, and in Egipte the Egiptian
 tongue: yet notwithstandinge none of the children of the
 Hebrues be founde, which from the beginnings vse the
 hebrue tongue, but their language amongst whom they be
 borne. Afterwarde when they waxe somewhat bigge, they
 be taught the characters and lettres, and learne in lettres ho-
 lie scripture written in the Hebrue tongue. Yowe here M.
 Nowell that the hebrewe tongue wherein the old lawe was
 written, was no naturall tongue, that the characters and
 letters were peculiar, that is to saie not to be vnderstande of
 every man, and for that cause called holy, as those were that
 the Grekes had in their temples. Yow here that it was not
 learned by nature as are the English, french, Italian and o-
 ther vulgare tongues, but by arte as are the latine, Greke and
 Hebrue with vs. So that as the readinge of scripture in la-
 tine

tine helpe the nothinge the vnlerned Englishman, no more did the reading of the lawe in the Hebrew tongue proffit the vnlerned, till the reader did expounde it. For whiche cause by the lawe the people was commaunded, to demaunde the lawe at the priestes mowthe who kepte it. And thus much for the lawe: for your reason that they that are bounde to obey goddes lawe ought to vnderstande it, it is true I graunte, by such lafull ministres as are appointed to teache it, as appeareth by the verie place of Deuterion. that yow alleage here.

Malach. 2.

Cap. 31.

For the mariage of priestes, why yowe maie not reason from the olde lawe to the newe to establishe it, the firste cause is, because the priestes of the olde lawe did serue in the temple by turnes, and when their courses came to serue they were seperated from their wiues. In the lawe of the ghospell, the prieste must be readie continually and daylie to minstre. This doe, S. Hierome S. Ambrose, and Innocentius the firste confirme by this argument: *The priestes of the olde lawe abstained from their wyues when their course came to minstre, but the priestes of the newe lawe must be alwaies ready to minstre: therefore they may not marye at all.* Againe the church maketh suche only priestes as doe vowe chastitie. This vowe is free to be made or not made: when it is made not the church onely, but the law of God forceth men to kepe it. The single state in the olde law was not so comended, nowe it is by the Apostle preferred before honorable wedlocke. Beside this the Apostle sayeth: *The married thinke on those thinges, that pertaine to the worlde, and how he maye please his wife: the vnmarrid man vpon those thinges, that pertaine to God, how he maye please hym.* Therefore he exhorteth all men (most of all the ministers of God) to be like to him selfe, that is single and vnmarrid. The fifth cause of difference

1.

Lib. 1. contra Iovinian.
Ca. 3. 1. ad Timoth.
distin. 31.
cap. 10. n. 1.

2.

3.

1. Cor. 7.

4.

5.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

may be, because priestehode went then by successiō within
one tribue, and therefore it was necessarie, that they married
to continue the same, whereas oures goeth by laufull voca-
tiō, and the priestes are and may be chosen through out the
worlde, and therefore there is no such necessitie. Last of al
I answered as Sainte Austen did to *Faustus* the Manichee, ob-
iecting to Iacob as a greate crime, the hating of foure wi-
ues: *Quando mos erat crimen non erat: et nunc propterea cri-
men est quia mos non est.* When the maner was so it was no
faulte: and nowe therfore it is a faulte, because it is not the
maner. Are not these M. Nowell reasons sufficient to assoi-
le your doubt, why priestes should not now marry, becau-
se they were married in the olde lawe? Replye first against
these, and then shall you here more. In the meane season
thus much be sayed to the lawe. Nowe to your reason, why
priestres should be married nowe, as well as they were in the
olde lawe.

You reason not with S. Paule: as you bragge here, but a-
gainst him. For whereas he saith, that such younge wido-
wes as after their vowes married, haue their damnation,
you bring him for the contrarie, disagreeing by that meanes
bothe with him selfe, and the auncient fathers, who agree
all in the interpretation of this place. *He that cannot con-
teine, let him marrye &c.* that it is to be vnderstanden of such,
as hauing not vowed to the contrarie be year in the ful pos-
session of their libertie, and intende not to vse the meanes
to attaine chastitie. Yow reason against S. Paule, whome
you wrest here to this meaning that he should will all men
to marrye. Whereas he willth on the contrarie parte in this
very chapitre all men to be vnmarried, as he was him selfe.
He meaneth here M. Nowell, as witnesse S. Hierome, S.
Ambrose, and S. Chrysostome, that the Corinthians (whom
me

6.
Lib. 22.
Cap. 47.

2.8.
1. Timot. 5

1. Cor. 7.
Amb. cap.
5. ad virg.
lapsam, &
alij alibi.

Lib. 1. con-
tra Iovin.
Amb. in

me saith S. Ambrose, he sawe so to swarme with vices, that he thought it very harde for them to liue continentlie) should continue to kepe euery man the cōpanie of his married wife, which they doubted whether it were lawfull for them to doe or no, and therefore consulted S. Paule therein. That this is the true meaning of the place, beside the auctoritie of these fathers, by the whole discourse also of the chapitre, and these wordes that followe nexte after those alleaged by you, *Vxori vin debitum reddat &c.* Let the man yealde to his wife the due debt of mariage; it maye manifestly appeare.

hoc cap. 7.
Chrysost.
hbm. 9. in
hunc locū.

To your last question of images, I answered, that suche images, as Christian men haue, were not forbidden. They were idoles, that were forbidden, or images to be worshipped as God, of which sorte we haue none. Men doe not stoupe to insensible blockes or stones, no more than he dothe reuerence to wax or parchement; that kisseth the Quenes broade seale, and therefore that reason argueth him, that of men hauing life or reason so saith or thinketh, to be him selfe for his witt a blocke, for his Christian charitie a verie stone. The honour, that we giue to images, is to the thinges that they represent, not to the matter of the image it selfe.

You haue by this time I trust M. Nowell, your request satisfied, not by greate leasure, but all other busines let aparte with as much speede, as I coulde. The reason you see, why I maie reason as I doe, but not you as you woulde, is other than my bare pleasure. And therefore I will now proceede further.

In this leafe and first side you saye, first that Christ is the onelie heade of the catholike church and none but he alone, then that the scriptures are the iudge of all controuersies, because they

fo. 68. a.
Nowell.

A DISPROVE OF M.

shall iudge vs in the last greate daye.

Dorman.

Christ is onelie the chiefe heade of his churche, and after that manner there is no other heade thereof, but he. Whiche as he is also of all the particuler churches that be in the worlde, and yeat that no let, but that there be other inferiour heades vnder him, so is his being heade ouer the whole churche no more let, that there shoulde be an other inferioure heade to rule in his corporal absence ouer the whole churche here in earth.

When you talke of Scripture, and thinke it straunge, that it shoulde not be the onelie iudge in all controuerfies, we merueile not, seing we remembre, that you haue reason to holde with youre forefathers olde condemned heretikes. But of this, I shall, when I come hereafter to your discourse vpon this point, haue more occasion to speake. Presently I will note to the reader the wise reason, that yowe bring, to proue that the onelie scripture ought to be the iudge of all controuerfies, which is, because it shall iudge both the yow and vs in the latter daye. So shall oure Sauoure in his visible personne M. Nowell. So shall the 12. Apostles: wil you proue therby, that Christ and the twelue Apostles in their visible persones ought to be the iudges of all controuerfies, that arise now in the churche? Beside that, these wordes can not be vnderstande of the text written, (there being then when Christ spake these wordes neuer a word written) and therefore must be taken to be ment as well of his worde vnwritten, as written: of tradition M. Nowell, euen that worde of God, that once shal iudge you. So good be youre reasons, and suche wise consequences depend thereon. And yeat you ende with a checke, as though you had giuen the mate, and saye. M. Dorman auoide the contempte, that you may escape the iudgement. Nowe M. Nowell you haue

haue proued no contempte, and therefore I feare not the iudgement. Let this be necke, till you giue a better checke.

Of certeine externall furniture of the church, where with M. Nowell chargeth the catholikes to haue blinded the worlde. Of the Scriptures bring iudge in all controuersies.

The 21. Chapitre.

BECAUSE I desired that I might be suffered a little by the readers patience to open to the worlde youre craftye dealing, and to shake yow oute off youre maskers clouttes &c. Yowe crie, holde not the man for Goddes sake, & cet.

Nowell.

No haste but good sir, youre fantasie feineth that reason neuer tolde you. I call not the holie Scripture youre clouttes, (I refer me to the place for my discharge, and to proue you a lyer) but youre owne clouted gloses are the clowtes, the maskers apparell, the glittering shewes, the whiche I speake off, and by the whiche yow blinde not onelye the ignoraunt, but the wyser sorte also. To discharge youre selues hereof, it is a world to see how workmanly you handle the matter, by discourfing shortly vpon two pointes.

Dorman.

A lyer. 56.

The first is, that we by copes, vestimentes, gilted crosses, candlestickes, deade mens and ofte deade beastes bones, by ceremonies, minstrelsy, belles, banners, and other bables, haue so bewitched and stroken blinde bothe the simple and manie of the wiser sorte also, that neither they can see any thing of Christe their saviour, nor here and vnderstande ought of his moste holie worde. Yea that we haue compelled them in stede of the true worshiping of God, to put all religion in the outwarde and dome be ceremonies, and not to regarde the God, off their Fathers.

1.
Nowell.
fol. 69. a.
13.

The

THE DISPROVE OF ROM.

2.

The seconde is a iustificing of youre religion by the losse which manie of youre parte haue susteyned in the defende thereof, of liues and libertie.

Dorman.

.1

The vse
of ceremo-
nies.

To the firste I make answere, that the ceremonies and ornamentes wherewith you scornefully twite vs, were partly reuerent ceremonies to stirre vp deuotion, partlye cōly ornāmētes to decke the house of God, that euen by such outwarde meanes, men might estones be put in remembrance to vse no demeanure vnsemelye for that place. So far was it from this that the people was hindred thereby from the vnderstanding of Christe and his holye worde, that dull affections were muche whetted, and colde deuotion not a little enflamed thereby. Let the maners off men that liued in that age, when these ceremonies and ornamentes were most in vse, beare witnes betwene you and me, whether they were anie hinderaunce to the knowledge of Christe and his worde or no. It is a sclanderouse lye of youres to saie, that we compelled men in the steede off the true worshippe off God, to put all religion in ceremonies, & cet. As it is also till you can proue it, that deade beastes bones were burnished ouer with burning golde. But this is M. Nowelles rhetorike good reader. After that he and his companions haue brought vs from firme faith to a rashe confidence, from the truthe it selfe to signes and tokens, from one faith to a nombre of contrary schismes and sectes, from the feare of God to a dissolute securitie, from praieng and fasting, to plaieng and banqueting, from repentaunce and confession, of oure sinnes, to laughter and mockerye of that holie and moste necessarie sacrament: after that they haue spoiled the churche of fīue holie sacramentes (the other two whiche remaine being made but bare signes and tokens, the one a piece of breade, the other a badge or signe of Christianitie: after

A lye. 57.

A lye. 58.

after they haue robbed God of his due honour (the blessed sacrifice of his bodie and bloude) the saines and friendes of God of their due worshippe, the soules departed of all charitable reliefe: after they haue spoiled the realme of moste godlie foundations, monasteries, colleges, hospitalles, almes houses, commeth solemnelye this protestant protestour, and reconuenteth vs for copes, crosses, candlestickes. &c.

As for the seconde pointe M. Nowell it is not iwisfe the imprisonment of heretikes, not the death of your stincking martirs, not all the Actes and monumentes of Fox, that can proue one protestant to be a good catholike. Doe not Catholikes also suffer imprisonment, losse of goddes, lacke of libertie, wiues and childern? Are they not in banishemēt in a strainge lande out of their own cuntry, (then which there is no worldly thing the lacke wherof grieneth them more), not in suche wealthe M. Nowell as Marchantes mainteined yow, no one penie (whiche we neither requier nor loke for, but onelie note youre state and oures herein how different they are) comming from them to vs. Haue not manie of them also suffred bitter deathe, yea more dreadefull (to vie also in this respect youre own wordes) then is vsuall to felons, murtherers, or to most sauage, noysome wilde beastes? Let the drawing, hanging, and quartering, of that nombre of holie fathers of the Charter house, the cruell execution of that good olde man father Forest, and of others: let the deathe of those two most worthy pearles of Englande, B. Fisher, and Sir Thomas More: let the deathe of diuerse Abbates, religiouse men, gentlemen and other, testifie, that Catholikes when deathe was offered haue not forsaken to dye for religion also. But what then M. Nowell, is this a sufficient argument to proue the

fo. 69. b. n.

Deathe
meaketh
not the

O o

cause

cause
good.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

Tam. 7.

cause good? No, no, M. Nowell, if it were so, yow Sacramentaries and Lutheranes shoulde be of all sectes lest esteemed. The Anabaptistes doe in this pointe go far beyonde yowe. Who to this houre daile suffer in all countries where they be to be founde. And that deathe being tumbled headlong in sackes into the water they suffer secretly. Whiche maner of execution, if it had bene practised vpon Lutheranes and Sacramentaries, that without the sight of the worlde, the admiration and applause of the brotherhode, without glorie and renowne they might haue ended in this worlde their wretched lyues, it is thought that manie of them had yeat liued, either for worse or for better. I might here bring the example of the Donatistes, whose excessiue desire to dye, and to seale with their bloude their heresies, S. Augustin in diuerse of his epistles and in the latter ende of his thirde booke against the epistle of Parmenianus dothe well declare. But this that hath bene saide maye suffice to conclude M. Nowell, that if all England shoulde run to morowe nexte with the bloude of heretikes (as God of his tendre mercie forbid suche hardenes of harte in those that professe them selues to be Christians) yeat ought not therefore the cause to be iudged anie whit the better, seing that we see the cursed secte of Anabaptistes, and haue heard of the wicked Donatistes, and knowe beside that the diuell hathe aswell his false witnesses, readie to suffer gladlie moste bitter deathe for their conceaued opinions, as Christe hathe his true martirs to doe the like for the true catholike faith.

Thus muche be saide to M. Nowelles impertinent discourse of copes, vestimentes, gilted crosses, candelstickes &c. and to his other idle talcke of the persecution forsothe, and martirdome sauing youre reuerences of his deare brethren

thern. Nowe at the length he commeth to that whiche he shoulde chiefly haue answered in this place, that is of the-
 trieng of all controuerfies by the only scripture. To proue
 that of controuerfies rising about the true vnderstandinge
 of the scripture, the scripture it selfe should be the iudge, he
 vseth a similitude, wherein he compareth vs to the phariseis,
 and him selfe and his companions to the Apostles. And v-
 pon that comparifon reasoneth in effecte as foloweth.

As in the controuerfie betwene the Apostles and the Phariseis,
 the question being whether Christe were the true Messias, the A-
 postles affirming, the Phariseis denieng, if the matter had bene re-
 ferred to the interpretation and determination of the high prieste
 and his consistorie, we mighte yeat haue looked withe the Iues for
 Messias to come: and as it was no reason that in the controuerfie
 betwene the saide highe priestes and the Apostles, whether they
 had put Christe iustlie or vniustlie to death, they shoulde be them-
 selues the iudges, who were not onelie accessaries, but the princi-
 pall partes to the murther: so must we nowe with the Apostles
 make the scripture the iudge of oure controuerfies, and the pope
 by all reason must be excluded, as he that is the finke of all the ab-
 hominations wherewith he that hath but halfe an eye maie see,
 how shamefully the lawe of God is, as it was by the Phariseis, cor-
 rupted.

Nowell.
 fol. 69. a. 1

Youre similitude M. Nowell halteth, and is not able
 therefore to go so far as it should. For the better declaration
 whereof it is to be knowen, that as sone as Iohn the Baptiste
 began to preache, the Synagoge which had no promise to
 continue for euer, began to languishe, and so was at the
 length weakened, that after Christes deathe it came to no-
 thing. Christe hauing then established a newe church, and
 made his Apostles the doctours and iudges thereof, and
 Peter the gouernour of all. Now see I praye you how this
 similitude of youres holdeth. The Apostles being the true
 church of Christe, referred not their controuerfies to the
 Phariseis which pertained not to the church, yea were ene-

Dorman.

Matth. 17.

A DISPROVE OF M.

mies and persecutours thereof, but referred the same to the scriptures, and iudged by the scriptures them selues, ergo, the church of Christe that is nowe, maye not be the iudge of controuerfies, but we must refer the same to the scriptures. I denie that consequent M. Nowell. You proue it, because the Apostles did not referre their controuerfies to the high priestes and Phariseis. I graunte you, for their priestehode, and auctoritie was expired. When you shalbe hable to proue vs Phariseis, and your selues the true church, then maie you by this similitude reason, that as the Apostles referred not the iudgement of the meaning of the scriptures to the Phariseis, which were not the church nor of the church: so you will not being the church, refer the matter to vs, but iudge of the scripture your selues as the Apostles did. In the meane season as the Apostles alleaged for the selues the scripture, and saied it made for the (wherein they gaue iudgement of the scripture,) so foloweth it that Christes church which is now, (the same that was then) iudgeth in al controuerfies which is the right and true sense. Neither can it serue you to saie to the contrarie, as you doe sclanderouslie, that the worde of God hauing bene moste shamefully by vs corrupted, as he that hath but halfe an eye maie well see, it is no reason being parties that we shoulde be iudges therein. Seing that thus might the Phariseis haue saide euen of the Apostles them selues, and laied to their charges partialitie, because they were Christes scholers and disciples, and so parties to the cause whiche they mainteined, and also for that you haue not as yeat proued, nor euer shalbe hable to proue, that Christes church hath euer erred in the faith, or the heade thereof at anie time deliuered to the church any tradition or erronious opinion, whereby the worde of God hath bene corrupted. Which assertion of youres being moste

The Apostles
being the
true church
of
Christe
iudged of
the scriptures.

moste directly against the scriptures, bearing witnes so manifestly of the continuance of the church incorrupted, so often auouched by you, and being the only fundation of this plea of yours that we be the Phariseis, and you Christes true Apostles, me thinketh you should haue done well once in so often affirming it, to haue proued by one sentence of scripture, or some approued auctor, and not facingly to saye, that he that hathe but halfe an eye maie see that it is so, or elles till you could haue proued it, it had bene more for your honestie to haue abstained from suche vnmmercifull and vnchristianlike demeanure, as you vse towards bothe the church of Christe, and the head thereof. Where you saye that I will haue the scripture reiected, there you reporte vnturly of me. This I saie, that scripture (not thorough anie imperfection or insufficiencie that is in it, but onelie by occasiō of stubborne, wrangling and contentious natures, who neuer will giue ouer the opinion that they haue once conceiued (euerie one being at apoint to receiue no other interpretation thereof the to them shal seme good) is not hable to ende and determine al cōtrouersies moued vpon the lettre thereof, and that therefore euen as in the lawes of the realme, whiche were to decide all cōtrouersies sufficient, so that the lawe being broughte euerie man woulde furthewith yealde to it, because they will not, there be iudges by the prince appointed to cut of all altercations, and to preserue the realme in quiet: who when the counsellours bothe of the one parte and the other haue contentiously disputed the matter, each of them affirming that the lawe is on his side, shall by opening the meaning thereof end the strife: So is it not to be thought, but that God forseeing the innumerable sectes of heretikes that shoulde trouble his church, of whome there shoulde

Math. 14.

16.

Iohn. 14.

et alibi.

Suene-
feldius.

Lib. de pra
script. ha-
retic.
1. Cor. 11.

b. 5.

Luce. 22.

be no one, no not of them that directlie blush not to teache that there ought to be no scripture at all, that woulde not colourable defende the same by scripture, it is not I saie to be thought, that he woulde in this case make lesse provision for his church, then a temporall king will for the due administration of his lawes, and the preserving of vnitie emongest his subiectes. Neither is it anie iniurie to the scripture, or derogatiō to the maiestie thereof, that the malice of men maketh it lesse sufficient to condemne heresies: especially seing as Tertullian saith, *the scriptures haue bene by the will off God so disposed, as that they might minstre matter to heretikes, seing it is writtē that there must be heresies, which cā not be without the scriptures.* To this obiection of myne, that the scriptures be so written, that there was neuer heretike yeat, that dyd not alleage scripture for the maintenaūce of the same, and that thought not by the scriptures him selfe wel able to defende the same, note I besech the good reader that M. Nowel maketh here no answer at al. Onely he maketh against this an other obiection, that so the pope maye vnder the name of the church mainteine and defende all errors and superstitions. Whiche if it were true, what woulde folowe other of this conclusion, but that there shoulde be no iudge at all? Is not this a propre kinde of answering trowe you? But because the matter shall not remaine in that incerteintie, I will M. Nowell answer youre reason although you woulde not answer mine. I saie therefore, that the pope as heade of Christes church, that is to saye, defining or decreeing anye thinge concerning the affaires and busines thereof, neuer erred yeat, nor euer shall. I proue it by auctorite and by reason. By the auctoritie of oure Sauour him selfe, who praing that Peters faith might not faile, coulde not but obteine. Whiche priuileage so obtained, seing that
Chri-

Christe builded his church, not to continue for Peters lyfe tyme, but for euer: we maye not doubt but that it was giuen also to his successours. S. Augustine (as I noted before) applied the wordes of Christ spoken of the Phariseis sitting in Moises chaire: *Qua dicunt facite: qua autem faciunt nolite facere*. Loke what they bid you doe, doe it: but do not as they do, to the bishoppes of Rome succeeding Peter, and addeth, *that in so doing oure faith shalbe suer and certaine, as the whiche being placed not in man but on God, can neuer be scattred with anye tempest of schisme*. You haue the auctoritie of the Scripture: you haue the iudgement of S. Augustine, that Peters faith shall continue in him and in his successours, that to doe as they commaunde, is to make oure faith suer and defensible against the tempestes of all schismaticall stormes. Now harken to reason. Christe promised for euer to abide with his church. S. Paule calleth it the pillar of truthe. If Christe be with it, it can not erre: if it be the pillar of truth it admitteth no falschode, if it can admit no falschode, the pope whiche is the heade thereof and appointed by God to gouerne it in earthe, can not in the gouernement thereof erre. For if the heade might erre, then might the whole body which is bound to folow the heade. And thus bothe by auctoritie and reason, by experience of these 1500. yeares it appeareth, that there is greate difference betwene the two likelihodes that you put in the pope, and in other priuate men, touching the interpretatiō of the scripture. And therefore vppon the ouerthrowe of this, downe commeth all that you build thereupon, either in this place or elles where. Hauing nowe taken youre pleasure sufficiently at vs, comparing vs with Annas and Caiphas, calling vs theeues, aduersaries of the ghospell, guiltie of manye heresies, corruptions of religion and false superstitions, your

entre

Epi. 169.

Maub. 13.

Matt. 18.
1. Time. 3.

entre in to a common place of councelles, whereof you sa-
ye as foloweth.

Nowell.
b. 10.

But the aduersaries off the Ghospell deale thus with vs:
The Pope and all hys cleargye being guiltie off manye heresies,
&c. and thereof accused, doe assemble them selues together in a
councell, in the whiche nothing maye be moued, muche lesse de-
termined, but suche as pleaseth the Pope him selfe: there is enqui-
rie made of vs (who doe accuse them thereof and offer to proue
it) and there vnhearde and vnseene we are condemned of our ad-
uersaries. &c.

Derman.

supra. fol.
24. b.

AB. 15.

Yow here note in the margent (for the proufe hereof
that nothing maie be moued in the councell but suche as
pleaseth the pope) Pighius in his 6. booke and first chapi-
tre of his Hierarchie. This place yowe alleaged before. As
I tolde you then so doe I nowe, that you haue beelied Pi-
ghius. For he saith not as you doe here, that nothing maie
be moued in the councell but suche as pleaseth the pope.
He saith: *Haud ferè fit*, almoste it is not otherwise, not de-
nieng as you saye he dothe, that it can not be otherwise.
The wordes of Pighius note rather the greate diligence of
the pope, whiche is suche, that when all the worlde shall
meete together in a generall councell, they can not for the
moste parte name anye thinge to be reformed or conclu-
ded, that the Bishoppe of Rome with his learned councell
about him, hath not before forseene and handled, then take
awaye libertie from anye man to moue anie doubt to be
resolued not considered before by the pope. That the pope
moueth ordinarily suche doubtes to the councell, iff that
offende you, be angry with S. Peter his predecessour, who
practised the same first in the generall councell mentioned
in the Actes of thapostles. You accuse the pope and his, and
offer to proue it. It is in deede the cōmon bragge of you al,
to saie you can proue vs Phariseis, corrupters of religiō, that
the

the church of Christe hath vnterly failed, and so furth. The whiche if yow feare to proue in generall councelles, yea yow might me thinketh giue vs a taste of your proufes in youre poisoned writings. To that that yowe complaine, that yow are condemned vnhearde and vnseene, we saie as yow gessed we woulde, that yow might be hearde if yow listed, against the whiche answere of oures yow replie.

How we are called and how we maie be heard, let Iohn Husse, called by the emperour Sigismunde his faulfe conduct vnder his greafe emperiall seale, to the councell of Constance with Hierom of Prague, (who bothe were contrary to the faithe giuen them by the greatest christian prince in the world, condemned and burned to ashes) be an eternall witnesse: yea let their owne decree made in the saide councell, which was: that no faithe nor promise is to be kepte to anie heretike, nor that anie man by anie promise, standeth bounde to an heretike &c. be a perpetuall testimonie off the same.

Nowell.
fo. 70. a. 1

Beholde howe manie lyes in howe fewe lynes. Iohn Husse being called to the councell of Constance, brake the conditions of his faulfe conduct. For wheras he promised the emperour to continue at the councell to the ende, and therupon had the faulfe conduct graunted, he not trusting therto, conueighed him selfe out of Constance couered in a carte with strawe. He abstained not beside being excommunicate, and not hauing learned so farre as yow are come nowe, from saing of masse, contrarye to the lawes of the church and expresse commaundement of the councell. So that seing in euerie faulfe conduct the partie to whome it is graunted, is aswell bounde to obserue the conditions on his parte to be obserued, as he that graunted it, is to perfourme semblably his promise, the which Husse dyd nor, yow haue herein sclaundred the councell and made a lie. If yow denie this yow maie consulte the historie of Vlrich

Dorman.

Lye. 59.

Pp

chus

su a
Teutonic.
histor. de
Concil.
Constant.

A lie, 60.

Actes and
monu-
mentes
fo. 243.

6:3. 19.

obus Reichenfall, who being a citezin of Constance was then presente at the counsell when these thinges happened, and reporteth thereof as hath bene declared. That yow iointly to Hulse Hierome of Prague, that is an other lye. For as Hierom neuer would venture so farre as to trust to anye sauveconduct, so was he taken against his will and brought to the counsell, as witnessech youre felowe Fox. Nowe foloweth the greatest lye of all, and that is of a decree that shoulde be made in the counsell off Constance, that no faith or promise is to be kepte to anye heretike, nor that anye man by anye promise standeth bounde to an heretike. I will here alleage the wordes of the decree, which this falsifier durst not for feare of being betraied. They are these:

Præsentis sanctæ synodus; ex quouis salvoconductu per imperatorem, reges, & alios seculi principes; hereticis vel de heresi diffamatis, putantes eosdē sic a suis erroribus reuocare quocunque vincula se astrinxerint, concessio nullū fidei catholice vel iurisdictioni ecclesiasticæ præiudicium generari, vel impedimentum præstari posse seu debere declarat, quominus dicto salvoconductu non obstante, liceat iudici competenti & ecclesiastico de huiusmodi personarū erroribus inquirere, & alias contra eos debite procedere, eosdemque punire quantum iusticia suadebit, si suos errores reuocare pertinaciter recusauerint, etiamsi de salvoconductu confisi ad locum venerint iudicij, alias non venturi, nec sic promittentem, quum alias fecerit quod in ipso est, ex hoc in aliquo remansisse obligatum.

That is to saie. This present holie sinode declareth, that notwithstanding any sauveconduct graunted by the emperour, kinges, or other seculer princes, to heretikes or diffamed of heresie, ypon hope thereby to call them from their errors, with what so euer bonde they haue bounde them selues, that yeat there shall not or maie not growe thereby any preiudice to the catholike faith, or ecclesiasticall iurisdiction,

jurisdiction, in suche wise that it maie not be laufull for the competent and ecclesiasticall iudge, to enquier of the errors of suche persones, and otherwise to procede duly against them and to punishe them, as iustice shall requier, if obstinately they refuse to reuoke their saide errors: yea although they trusting vpon the saufeconduct came thither, which otherwise they woulde not haue done, and that he that maketh this promise, when otherwise he hath done what is in him to doe, remaineth not hereby in anie thing bounde. These be the wordes of the councell, this is the decree that yow pretende to feare. Yow saie the councell hath decreed that no faithe is to be kepte to anie heretike: the councell hath onlie, that suche faithe as is giuen by temporall princes (in matters of heresie not pertaining to their iurisdiction) is not to be holden, in suche wise as it might preiudice the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction. The cleane contrarye therefore appeareth by the councell to that whiche yowe saie: that is, that faithe giuen by some men shoulde holde and be good, (otherwise the exception of secular princes had bene made in vaine, wheras the councell might haue saide as yowe doe, that no faithe without exception shoulde be kepte). Wherefore I conclude, that all faithe gyuen to anye heretique by anye ecclesiasticall person laufullly auctorized is good, and to be kepte, and that therefore you haue falsified this councell, in making it to speake generally of all men, of all faithes, of all heretikes, whiche speaketh but only of secular princes, who haue no auctoritie to make anye suche promise of that whiche pertaineth not to their power and iurisdiction. And therefore euen as he that promisseth an other mannes facte, promisseth his only diligence and is bounde no farther, so the councell declared that secular princes promising to

The
cell of C
stante
falsified
by
M. No
well, by
making a
triple.
lye. 63.

A DISPROVE OF M.

heretikes saufeconduct to come and to go, because they promised *factum alienū* the deede of other men, were ha-
 uing done their diligence to perfourme their promise, dis-
 charged, and no longre bounde. Nowe I praie you M. No-
 wel, because you complaine that offering to proue the pope
 and his cleargie guiltie of manie heresies, corruption of re-
 ligion &c. you can not be hearde, or if audiēce were graun-
 ted to you, promise were not like to be kepthe because of
 this decree of the councell of Constance, let vs examine
 how true this is. The councell of Constance, as by the
 wordes of the decree euidently appeareth, declared only
 that promises made by laie princes did not binde the ma-
 kers. When you were called to the last councell of Trent,
 was the saufeconduct that was offered to you made by
 the emperour only, or some other seculer prince? Was it
 not made by the bodie and heade of that moste holie and
 learned councell one of them, that euer was assembled,
 with suche assurance for youre indemnitie, as greater by
 mannes witte coulde not be deuised? Why came you not
 then, why put you not in youre accusations, why durst
 you not shewe youre faces? Who seeth not that the preten-
 ding (for the cause of your refusall) of this forged decree,
 proceded of feare to be vanquished in youre heresies, not to
 be harmed in youre bodies? Who perceineth not that in
 this drawing backe of youre, you countrefeited some co-
 wardly yeoman, that fearing to be pressed to the warre,
 causeth his wife to binde a clowte about his heade, and
 then his kerchiefe being sicke, he must nedes tarie at home
 forsothe, who if sicknes had not lette him, woulde haue kil-
 led the enemies all of them him selfe, as you woulde the
 pope and all his cleargie, had not this decree bene. Wel your
 witte shewed it selfe more in tarieng at home, then youre
 honesty,

The pro-
 testantes
 seine fal-
 se cau-
 ses to ex-
 cuse the,
 for not
 appeas-
 ing at
 the gene-
 rall coun-
 cell.

honesty hath done here in falsifying this decree.

They saie we are heretikes, we doe denie it: if our name maie not defende vs why should their yea condemne vs? &c.

Nowell.
2.14.
Dorman.

We saie not onelie that you be heretikes. Reade M. Nowell the 2. cause in the conclusion of my firste booke. Reade the discourse annexed vnto the Apologie of Staphilus: la-
telie set forthe in English. Reade the fortresse. You shall finde there a nombre of your assertions holden generallie of al protestantes, to be olde condemned heresies in the first six hundred yeares: you shall finde that the doctrine of Iohn Calvin youre Maister, bothe in the doctrine of the blessed sacrament of the altar, and of baptisme, is stuffed with a nombre of olde heresies condemned also in the primitive church. Discharge youre selues first of these heresies, and then saie that we saie onelie that you be heretikes. We saie not onely that we be the church, but we proue it also, and haue made it moste euident that you can by no meanes be the church. As of late hath bene proued, answer it when you can.

The first
parte the
last chap.

In some countries if the partie accused pleade not guilty, and saie y^e name to the crime objected, if he by diuerse tormentes enforced to confesse, doe still mainteine his name he is discharged and let goe. But it can not helpe vs accused as heretikes to denie the false accusation &c.

2.19.
Nowell.

I blame you not M. Nowell though for heretikes you clayme the fauour that is wont to be shewed to murderers, thenes and other malefactours, although this reason of yours that heretikes the greatest offenders that are (for no crime is so greates as the faulte of heresie) should haue this fauour, because other malefactours lesse offending haue it, woulde scarce be founde sounde, if it should be by the rigorous rules of logicke examined. But it needeth not, it hath other faultes enough. For although in some countries

Dorman.

the parties accused denieng the faulte in suche wise as you
saye, be vpon their denial discharged and let go: yea is the-
re no countrie, where if the partie accused for thefte would
confesse the dede, but saye it were no faulte, he shoulde be
be so discharged (the lawes cōdemning theft by deathe) and
let go. And yea this is youre case M. Nowell. For you con-
fesse the dede. You denie (for example) sacrifice and prair
for the dead: you stande in defence of it as did Aërius a
condemned heretike aboue. 13. hundred yeares ago. Onelie
your denial is that it is no heresie, which thinge if it might
be laifull for euerye heretike to doe, and to escape, euerye
one giuing to heresie the title of true doctrine, howe ma-
nye thinke you woulde be condemned? Did not Michael
Seruetus put to deathe by the procurement of Iohn Calvin
at Geneva, denye that he was an heretike as you doe? Did
Caluin anye wrong to him in condemning him, who saide
he coulde bring as good testimonie of his innocencie oute
of Gods worde, as you saye you can for youre heresies? Did
Cranmer any wrong to Ioane of kent, because she saide she
was no heretike? Doe not the Anabaptistes dailie saye the
same? It is too greate an absurditie M. Nowell, and fauoreth
of your cholere ouer much, that while you labour to bring
the catholikes in hatred, as though they showed you lesse
fauour then they doe to theeues, murderers, and other of-
fendours, you forget that in so doing you shewe youre sel-
fe a proctour for heretikes of all sortes, and that yea you
misle of your purpose, the fauour of the lawes extended to
heretikes, being greater then is practised vpon anie other
transgressours. For make the cōparison aright, and you shal
make it betwene a theefe for his theft, or murderer for
his offence, and an heretike denieng and repenting his he-
resies. Nowe who knoweth not in this case who hathe the

grea-

Epiph. lib.
3. heresi.
75.

M. No-
well pla-
yeth the
proctour
for all he-
retikes.

greatest fauour, the heretike vppon repentance being received to mercy, whiche fauoure other offendours haue not? To make suche false and vitrue comparisons as you doe, if it proceeds not of ignorance M. Nowell, surely it cometh of malice, and that is worse. Where you saye that I deuise God to be absent, that I saye that he is dombe, I saide not so. Why doe you falsely burden me with that whiche I neuer thought? I layde that he is not present with vs in such sort as that we may see him, and speake with him face to face, to be resolu'd at his mouth of suche doubtres and questions as shoulde rise amongeste vs. Saie not you the same? Doe you call him then dombe, or saye that he is absent? If you doe not, why I more then you?

S. Augustine contending against those who doe attribute Goddes grace and giftes to the the worthynesse of mennes merites, concludeth thus, *Cedunt et consensum auctoritatis scripturae sanctae, quae nescit falli nec fallere*. Let vs giue place to the auctoritie of holy Scripture which can not be deceiued nor deceiue.

We saye with S. Austen. *Let vs giue place and agree to the auctoritie of the holy Scripture which can not be deceiued nor deceiue*. Will not two heires struing aboute their fathers goods saie as much as this cometh to of his testament, desire that it maie be brought furthe, and both of them offer to be tried by it and to stande to it, and yea the wordes being doubtfull require a iudge notwithstanding.

S. Augustine preferreth the Scriptures before the private opinion off Saint Cyprian. So doe we too, and before anye other doctour disagreing from the scripture expounded to vs in generall councelles, and by common consent of all nations, Howe farre this sense whiche you woulde wrest out of Saint Augustins wordes, that the church

A lye. 64.
b. 6.

In my bo
ke. fo. 9. b

Nowell.
fol. 71. a.
vnto fol.
74. a. 26.
in which
compassse
the testi-
monies
brought
to proue
that only
Scripture
is sufficiẽt
to deter-
mine all
cõtrouer-
sies are ex-
amined.
Dorman.
De peni-
tent. lib.
1. cap. 22.
Ad Crese.
lib. 2. cap.
31. & 32.

*Contra-
pist. funda-
ment. Ma-
nichcor.
cap. 5.*

*Lib. 2. con-
tra Iulian-
& alibi.*

*b. 10.
Lib. contra
Maximinū
3. cap. 14.*

*Howe S.
Austē re-
nounced
the aucto-
ritie of
the Nice-
ne coun-
cell.*

church maie not be iudge of the true meaning of the scrip-
ture, is from the mynde of S. Augustine, his wordes in an
other place doe well witnes: where he protesteth that he
woulde not beleue the Ghospell; if the auctoritye of the
churche did not moue him thereto. How often beside doth
he in writing against Iulian the Pelagian, obiekt to him the
doctours of the church expounding the scriptures againste
his opinion?

As for that whiche you bring oute of, Saint Augustine
against councilles, it is falselye and vnrulye applyed. For
Saint Augustins yealding to the aduerlaries, whome he sa-
we frowardly bent to stande to the hereticall counsell off
Ariminum, dothe no more proue him to be of the mynde
to enervate and weaken thereby the auctoritye of generall
councilles, then if I woulde saie to you (disputing with
you vpon the reall presence of Christe in the sacrament,
and knowing that you were as wholly bent to mainteine
the Confession of Augspurg, or perhappes the solemne
cuppe counsell in Martin Luthers house at Wittemberg,
as I am to defend the coucel of Nice, *Ephesus*, or *Lateranū*:
Well M. Nowell, neither shall you at this tyme bring fur-
the youre Confession of Augspurg, or the solemne con-
clusion agreed vpon at Martin Luthers house, nor I wil al-
leage either the counsell of Nice, *Ephesus* or *Lateranum*:
but the scriptures &c. then I saie you coulde proue here-
by, that I, who trusting vpon the goodnesse of the cau-
se, quit for the tyme the alleaging of the councilles, were
of the mynde that the auctoritye of the councilles made
nothing for the decision of controuerlies. And that this
was the meaning of S. Augustine, to relinquish onelye for
that present tyme the auctoritie of the counsell off Nice,
that the heretike might forsake his schismaticall coun-
cell,

cell, not that he esteemed either the councell of Nice or any other lawfull generall councell so lightly as yow suppose, bothe this aduerbe *nunc*, now, (whose nature is to limite and restraine) whiche yowe fearing lest it woulde marre all the marcket, and perceiuing that it woulde be harde to deceiue the learned sorte with this place, alleaged trulie in the latine but left owt in the englishe, thinking that youre parte shoulde be well enough plaied, if yowe were able to blinde the ignorant and vnlearned: bothe dothe this I saie argue the meaning of S. Austen to be as I saie, and not as yow pretende, and also that he dothe euerie where against the Donatistes alleage, *Concilium plenerium totius orbis*, the full councell of all the world, and saith of councelles, *quorum est in ecclesia saluberima auctoritas* whose auctoritie is in the churche moste wholesome. It is not to be forgotten in this place, that where S. Austen calleth the scripture by the name of a witnes, yowe conclude that he calleth the scripture iudge. Which if he had done nright easelie haue bene answered to be true also, when the churche hath declared what the scripture ment. As the lawes of all countries are the iudges of suche controuersies as rise there but not the iudges alone, because they be subiecte to wrangling interpretations, and therefore requier an other iudge to iudge their meaning. But seing S. Austen calleth not the scripture iudge but witnes, yowe haue delt vnrulie by concluding more vpon his wordes then is in them.

To the places brought here by yowe owt of Chrysostome, I answer, that we saie as muche in the commendation of holie scripture as he doeth. For none of those places make holie scripture the onelie sufficient triall of all controuersies. Therefore where as they saie, *we muste beleue scripture rather then men, that if we woulde beleue them we should*

A lie by
omission
65.

Lib. 1. de
baptis. con-
tra Donat.
cap. 18.
Epist. 118.
ad Iamari.
fo. 72. 23.
S. Austen
beelied. 66
Howe the
scripture
is iudge
and howe
it is not
iudge of
a controu-
uersie.

Fol. 72. a

A DISPROVE OF M.

fall in to no errors; we graunte it to be true in scripture as it is deliuered by the fathers and expounded by the church. For the first place of S. Hierom, he there reiected an allegation of yncertaine auctoritie commonly called *Apocriphū*, about the person of that Zachary which was slaine betwene the tēple and the altar, which because he knewe was not receiued by vniuersall tradition, there remained no other ground of prouing it but by scripture: where sith it was not, he might well saie it is as easely contemned as proued. The laste place, *non adferamus statuas dolosas etc.* is not S. Hieromes, as yow trusting ouermuch *Gratiannus* (to whom belike yow haue recourse for youre auctorities owt of the doctours, to auoide either furder paine, either elles because yow delight not muche in suche companie) reporte it here to be. It is taken owt of S. Austin M. Nowell, a token that manie a man speaketh (to vse the olde Englishe prouerbe) of Robin hood that neuer shot in his bow, and maketh nothing against me, who wishe you would in dede way thinges with lesse deceitefull waights of scripture the you doe.

The places here noted owt of S. Austin and Chrysostom touching the conference of one place of scripture with another, of the darcke and obscure with the clere and light, are brought to proue conference to be good and profitable, which we denie not. But that which we denie and therefore yow shoulde haue proued, neither those places nor anie other that yow haue alleaged doe proue. First that allwaies suche conference can assure vs of the true meaning of the scripture: secondarily that in this conferring of places there is no difficultie, varietie or yncerteintie: which we affirme, and proue to be, because to one man (to the Lutheran) it semeth that *hoc est corpus meum*, this is my bodie, and *verbum caro factum est*, the word is made flesh, are places of like phrase

Math. 23.

M. Nowelles ignorance in the writings off the fathers.

Lib. 2. de baptis. cap. 6.

R. 14.

phrase and speache : to yow, M. Nowell it semeth, that *Ego sum vitis vera*, I am a true vyne, is like to this, *This is my bodie*. Why yow will saie I haue proued this by Chrysostome, who saith: *Ad ipsum diuina scriptura scopum accedamus quae seipsam interpretatur*: and againe, *Sacra scriptura seipsam exponit, & auditorem errare non finit*. Let vs come to the marke of the holie scripture whiche expoundeth it selfe. The holie scripture expoundeth it selfe and suffereth not the hearer to erre. I knowe that these be Chrysostomes wordes: I knowe that they make nothing for your purpose: I knowe, and be it knowen to all men, that they are most shamefully by yowe abused and mangled. For whereas Chrysostome confuting the error of those that grounding themselves vpon this place of *Genesis*: & *inspirauit in faciem eius spiraculum vitae*, and he breathed vpon his face the breathe of life, maintained that the soule of man was off the same essence with the God: where I saie, Chrysostome specially in this pointe saith that the scripture expoundeth it selfe, you make him generally to saie, that the scripture dothe so in all doubtres. The whiche to persuaide the better, whereas the laste of those two sentences of Chrysostome by yowe alleaged, hath thus: *quamuis sacra scriptura quum nos tale quiddam docere vult seipsam exponit, & auditorem errare non finit*. Although the holie scripture when it wyll teache vs anie suche thing expoundeth it selfe, and suffereth not the hearer to erre: yowe mangling the sentence, cutt awaie the middle wordes, *quum nos tale quiddam docere vult*, when it will teache vs anie such thing, lest by those wordes the reader might vnderstande that Chrysostome gaue there no general rule, but spake onely of that special pointe or some other like vnto it. If this were not youre meaning M. Nowell why cut you of the worde *quamuis* at the beginning,

Chrysost.
in 2. cap.
Gen. Ho-
mil. 13.

Gen. 2.

Chrysostomes
wordes;
mangled
by M.
Nowell.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

ning, and these other in the midst? Tell vs some other cause if you can.

fo. 73. a.
Borrowed
of the cō-
fession of
witten-
berge.
In. de Re-
des.

Next after these auctorities, you alleage a treatie of one that you set furth Rhetorically, calling him an auncient auctor printed with the Chrysostome and of long time taken for him, to proue that the church must be tried by the scriptures.

To this place I answered, that whether it be Chrysostomes owne worcke from whence it is taken or no, this is a thing moste certaine, that it is to be warily readen, as the booke which hath thrust into it if it be Chrysostomes owne, or anie other catholike mannes, by some false Arrian heretike manie poisoned and pernicious sentences for the maintenaunce of the Arrians heresie. Emongest other to note to you one or two, euen in the 48. homilie, whiche is the verie nexte before this that you alleage here, the Catholikes for mainteining the equalitie of Christe with God the father, are nombred emongest heretikes, and in the 45. they are called heretikes, that holde that the blessed trinitie is equall of like substance and auctoritie. And therefore in suche places as this auctor who so euer it be, dissenteth from the common faithe of Christes church, we haue iust cause to suspect, that there this heretike (who hath it appeareth ouerronne the whole,) hath dipped in his fingers, and therefore that we reiect. As in this place it is likely that he thought to make a waie for his heresies, by challenging to be tried by the scripture onelie, the common request of the Arrian heretikes, because the worde they saide *Homousion* was not to be founde in the scriptures. But nowe if these wordes were Chrysostomes owne, and not put in by the heretike: yea foloweth it not that because the church is to be tried by the scriptures onelie, that therefore all other questions maie be decided by the same alone. For God
wh

whose wisdom diuised, whose holie spirite brethed, whose finger wrote the scriptures: as for heretikes that cōtemne the auctoritie of the church, he hath so disposed them (as Tertullian writeth) that they might minstre them matter: so hathe he againe for them that shalbe content humblie to rest in the lappe of the same, made that matter by the scriptures so clere, that a catholike man maie be bolde to prouoke an heretike, yea all the heretikes in the worlde to dispute by scripture onelie of that question, whiche and where is the true church. And suerlie so was it expedient that it shoulde be, that the church whiche shoulde iudge of the true sense and meaning of the scriptures, shoulde by the scriptures be so euidentlie proued, that about that their might be no wrangling. As it is not to be merueiled therefore, if anie catholike man giue counsell to proue the church by the scriptures, (the scriptures speaking of the church as hath S. Austen more plainelie then they doe of Christe him selfe, and therto being writtē so euidently that the textes making for the trial thereof nede no interpretation) so can you not reason that all other controuerfies in semblable wise, must be tried by the scripture, because the scripture is more ambiguous in other maters, and because the church is proued so plainelie, that it might afterwarde hauing the continuall assistance of Goddes holie spirite, and being the pillar of truthe, assuer vs being in doubte of the true meaning of scripture. And thus muche for answer to your long place alleaged to so little purpose, out of that auncient auctor printed with Chrysostome, and of long time takē for him. By whose auctoritie lest the wordes of S. Clement making so muche against youre newe doctrine might get anie credite, being here alleaged by this auncient auctor printed with Chrysostome and of long ti-

*Lib. de
prescript.
aduers. ba-
res.*

*Enarrat.
in psal. 30*

*Lib. de v-
nitate ec-
cles. ca. 16*

*A Beight
of M. no-
wells.*

A DISPROVVE OF M.

metaken for him, you toke youre pen in to youre hande,
and cut that sentence cleane awaie.

fo. 74. b. 9

Having nowe spent youre store of testimonies brought
by you to proue that the scripture alone ought to be the
iudge of all controuerfies, you returne to youre olde plea
so often auouched and neuer proued, that we be the phari-
seis, and therefore can not be the true church of god, that
you alleage scriptures against vs as the Apostles did against
the phariseis, of whom and vs you saye furdre as foloweth.

Nowell.
b. 29.

And I am suer that the high prieste withe his Iuishe chur-
che, was able to saye as muche for the ordinarie succession of
the highe priestes his predeceffours euen from Aaron vntill his
time, for antiquitie, for consent, and for vniuersality against Chri-
ste and his Apostles (so fewe in comparison, and as it semed la-
telye start vp): as yowe are able to saye for youre church or a-
gainste vs. But yea we doe thinke, that the worde of God as it
was alleaged by Christe and hys Apostles againste the saide high
prieste and his church, so maye it and ought it allso to be al-
leaged by vs againste youre highe prieste and youre church,
& cer.

Dorman.

What so euer the Phariseis had to saye againste the A-
postles for them selues, they had not this to saye whiche we
haue againste you, that theire church was by the testimo-
nies of the Scriptures promised to continue for euer. The
Apostles proued to them the contrary oute of the scriptu-
res: if you can doe the lyke to vs, and shewe by euident scri-
ptures that the church of Christe shoulde for the space
of fiftene hundred or nine hundred yeares either be ouer-
throwen, and at the length restored by a newe Messias,
we renounce the benefite off succession, we giue ouer an-
tiquitie, consent, vniuersalitye and what so euer elles. Thus
alleaged the Apostles the worde of God againste the Phari-
seis, Thus must you alleage it againste vs, if you will alleage
it at all.

And

And whether you be so or no (the true church of god) being it is in question, and a greater doubt and controuersie amongst men I am suer, then can be aboute the sense of anye place of the scripture, yow shall neuer be hable to make anye exception to the scripture as no competent iudge in controuersies, but we shall be able ten tymes more to make exception to your Pope and his church, as no indifferent nor meete iudge.

Nowell.
fol. 75. a.
23.

We make no exception nor euer did, againste the scripture as of it selfe an incompetent iudge to determine controuersies. This we saye, that the forwardenes of men addicted to mainteine their once receiued opinions, maketh that the scripture is not alone sufficient to decide the same, till the church haue giuen sentence betwene those that shall thus contende, which is the true meaning of the scripture aboute the which the variaunce is. The whiche sentence being giuen, then dothe the Scripture alone decide the matter, as that which contained allwayes the same truth, which is nowe manifest, being before secret and hidden.

Dorman.

How the
scripture
decideth
controuersies.

Whereas you saye that you can make suche good exceptions againste vs that we be not the church, if you had proposed your exceptions, you should haue heard mine answere. But to proue the contrarye that we be the true church, I refer the Reader to the Fortresse of the faithe of late set furthe. And further those that haue the vnderstanding of the Latine tongue, to that shorte but notable epistle of saint Augustine to *Honoratus* a Donatist, where this verye question (*Honoratus* claiming the true church to their syde as you doe nowe, Saint Augustine defending the contrarye) is attempted to be betwene them louinglye debated. That whiche serued Saint Austen mainteining that the church of Christe muste be thorough oute all the worlde, and that therefore he who was of that faith that all the worlde helde had the right church on his side, not

Epist. 161.

Vide eundē
in psalmi
101. concione. 2.

Honoratus

A DISPROVE OF M.

Honoratus whose church was onely in *Africa*: why shoulde it not serue for vs against you, whose congregation within these few years, was not onely not in anye whole parte of Germanie, but in no one knowen man of Germanie, nor of all the worlde beside neither. Tell vs how Christe lost his church and it came to you? Thus muche for this present maie suffice, for it is not meete that euerye extrauagant proposition of youres, cast in to make youre booke swell with impertinent matter, because you lacked better stuffing, shoulde be here handled at large, of the whiche each alone woulde rise to a iust treatise.

fo. 76. a.
6.

You reioise mightely in the prosperouse successe of your newe ghospell. Who can let beggers to make much of their ragges? Yea it is not so farre auanced as was the heresie of *Arrius* before. Neither haue you so muche cause to triumphe vpon the matter all thinges well considered. What marchandise you make and how youre gaine riseth in deceauing poore simple craftesmen I knowe not: youre market is thought therein to stande at a staye. But this I knowe, in other countries, and here crediblie that in oure owne, the wyser and better learned fall daile from yow.

b. 11.

Alyc. 67.

You woulde here make men beleue that I was wont in tymes paste to make pastime vpon the stage by playeng the vice. If you speake this of youre owne deuising it cometh of malice: if you speake it vpon the reporte of others, of want of discretion, so lightly to beleue euery false rumour. Howe euer it be a lye it is, maliciously feined to discredite my persone and writings. Although if it had bene as you saye, bothe manie honest and learned men haue occupied that place in exercise of learning in the vniuersities, and yow off all other might worst finde faulte therewith.

Whose

Whose profelſion the time hath bene was emongeſt other thinges to plait the maſter ſchole, and to frame your ſcholars to theſe manners. Of whome ſome one came ſence to ſuche excellencie herein, that whether he attained to his maſters grace I am not able to pronounce, but of this I am ſuer, that of all that were in Oxforde in his time he bare the bell. Yow knowe I dare ſaie Alexander Nowell, that taught Gnato his nurtor to drawe his cap ouerthwart his ſelowes Parmeno his noſe, when he ſaluted him with *plurima ſalute ſuum impertit Parmenonem Gnato*. And thus much might be ſaide to yowe had I euer practiſed that whiche yowe ſo often haue taught other to doe, as by the leſſons whiche like a maſter in that facultie yow here giue, maie to anye man eaſely appeare. My parable of the felon is not impertinent, being brought in to diſproue the heretikes aſſertion crieng for onelie ſcripture, and reiecting the viſible heade of the church, whiche is the thing that in this firſt propoſition I take on me to proue. Yow will helpe yow ſaie the ſurmized felon. Yow doe well. Why ſhoulde not one frinde helpe an other. I perceiue the olde prouerbe is true, kinde will creepe where it can not go. For how doe yow helpe him I praie yow? For ſo the yow ſaie.

If the felon appealing for the triall of his innocencie to God, can bring for him ſo manie teſtimonies of goddes owne mouthe, as we are able for oure innocencie to bring teſtimonies of wordes proceeding from the mouthe of God, and of oure ſauour Ieſus Chriſte, and yet it will not ſerue the ſeely ſelow, nor helpe him anie thing in his plea of not guiltie; then I thinke there can not be a fitter lawe to procede againſt him then the popes canons (which yow knowe well M. Dorman for yowe haue therein ſpent more time then in the ſtudie of the ſcripture) neither can he haue a meeter iudge to cōdemne him then the pope him ſelfe: and a handſomer man emongeſt all men to be, I will not ſaie his hangman but the forman of a popiſhe queſt to paſſe againſt the ſeely ſoule, ſhall not anie man I beleue eaſelie finde, nor a fitter then is M. Dorman.

Nowell.
fo. 77. a. 12

Rr

And

A DISPROVE OF M. N

And thus I let his parable passe.

Dorman.

By what name yow call me M. Nowell, hangman or
 forman it forceth not, youre tongue is no sclandre. It
 maie beseme me well inough to be iniured by that ton-
 gue by the whiche Christe suffreth him selfe and his ble-
 sed sanctes to be blasphemed. But I praie yowe now helpe
 yow this pore felon for all the malice that yowe beare to
 me? If he coulde yow saie, bringe as good testimonie of his in-
 nocencie owte off goddes worde, as yowe can for youre. &c.
 If he brought no better, then were he like to stretch a hal-
 ter. For let vs suppose youre selfe (as meete a man as anie
 that I knowe) to occupie this felons rounge at the barre, and
 see for youre onelie justifieng faith what one worde off
 scripture yow haue? That the sacrament of the altar is on-
 ly a figure, what testimonie of goddes mounthe coulde yow
 bring? That the laie princes are appointed by Christe to
 be the supreme gavernours in all ecclesiasticall thinges and
 causes, (no prince being Christened at the writing of the
 scriptures) that all controuersies ought to be tried by one-
 lie scriptures, where is the scripture? If the felon coulde
 bring as good testimonies as yow, were he not now thinke
 yow like to be muche holpen by yowe? But I merueile
 where youre wittes were M. Nowell, that yow be so far o-
 uersene, as where as I putt the case in a felon guiltie and
 that had well deserved to dye: yow woulde euer make such
 a supposition, as though suche a malefactor might finde
 anie testimonies in the scripture to proue him innocent.
 But I knowe youre meaning well enough. Yow thought
 couertly to signifie, that there was no felon that had so
 grievously offendid, but that he might aswell proue his in-
 nocencie by the scriptures, as yowe youre doctrine thereby.
 Except yow so ment, to wrest my example to youre mea-
 ning

ning, or to suppose a thing that can nor be (as that an offendour worthy to dye by the lawes shoulde finde scripture for his defence) either it lacketh (to saie no worse) policie or honestie. And thus I let this parable passe.

That whiche foloweth of *Sardanapalus*, *Nero*, *Heliogabalus*, *Ventriloqui*, and suche like, is but a twang of youre harpe, whiche hath nowe so often sounded vpon one string, that yowe make vs beleue that yowe haue no more varietie in harping, then hath the cuckow shift of descant in singing.

fo. 77. b. 4

It is a world to see how here yow lash owte the gospel in the margent of youre booke, against pardons, masses, soule masses, trentalles, diriges: how yow defende the cause of the pore widowe that had her onelic cowe yowe wote not where taken awaie. As though S. Mathewe and S. Marcke had expressely made mention of these thinges, the widowes cowe and all: whereas there is no suche thing in them to be founde, sauing that there is mention of suche as robbe widdowes housen, and in an other place of the castinge of the byers and sellers owte of the temple, which if yowe thinke yow maie applie to such pore priestes emongest vs, as were rewarded with a grote after they had saide masse for a soule departed this worlde: what Marchandise is it I praie yowe that youre ministres make, in taking a marcke, ten shillings, a noble at the leaste for euerie funerall sermon?

B. 16.

Math. 21.

23.

Mar. 12.

I will not matche with you in *Plautus* termes, in whome it appeareth you haue bestowed more time then in S. Austen, or an other good doctour of the church, and perhappes I might adde, haue better borne awaie suche *Plautine* periphraes, then oute of the scripture good Christian lessons. Yeat this I must nedes marueile at M. Nowell, how

fo. 78. a. 9

Rr a you

A DISPROVE OF M.

you be so sodenly fallen out with pore priestes', lashing at them so cruelly with youre Plautine periphraſes. To the whole ordre of whome in king Edwardes daies you pretended, either for feare or flattery, to beare so muche good will, that whereas the auctor of the comoedy called *Andrisca*, had feined a prieste to haue misused him selfe, withe a carriers wife: you exhibiting the same comoedy before the reuerend father in God, the B. that then was of westminstre, turned the prieste (whome nowe it pleaseth yow to call by a plautine periphraſis *trifur trifurcifer*) in to a souldior, whome yow named *Trifimachus*. At this sodeine change I laye of minde I can not chooſe but maruell, and of the same can finde no cause, excepte it be that from a ſobre and modest scholemaister, you be transformed into a lewde and Ruffianly souldiour, as by the warlike phraſes in youre booke, and gonneshot of terrible threateninges and boasting bragges so common to yow in youre sermones, yow giue men iust cause to thinke.

Of this argument of the Protestants: Christe is
heade of the church *Ergo* the Pope is
not. *Ergo* there is no other.

The 22. Chapitre.

fo. 71. b. 23.

FIRST where as you saie that I made a wōdring before, that Christe shoulde be heade of the church, I neuer wondered thereat, but saide we founde no faulte therewith, but confessed the same oure selues. You beely me therefore. As for your argument surely it shall neuer be worth a pyppe nutte. Yes saye you, the argument is good.

A lye. 68.

Nowell.

Because the Apologie taketh the worde church for the Vniuersall church, which hath not nor can possibly haue, anie earthe-
lie heade.

lie heade ouer it to gouerne it, as hath bene often at large heretofore declared.

Wherefoeuer you haue declared anie thing before touching this impossibilitie of one heade ouer Christes church, there haue I answered yow, thither I refer the reader. Yow might declare the good affection, that yow haue to proue it, and therefore yow saide circumspectly that you had declared, for surely yow neuer proued it hetherto.

I saide that youre argument did not holde, whereby yow reasoned that there could be no other heade of Christes vniuersall church because Christe was him selfe: no more then if one would saie, that the priests did not baptise, forgiue sinnes, &c. because Christ dothe these thinges by the meanes of his ministres. To this yow saie, that these examples make rather againste me then with me. But why M. Nowell I praie yow? Your reason foloweth.

For one chiefe heade hath diuerse vnderministres in diuerse seruices, and places vsually: but what pertaineth that to proue that there must be one heade ouer all places, and seruices ecclesiasticall thorough out the whole worlde which is vnpossible to be?

These examples were neuer brought M. Nowel to proue that there must be one heade ouer the whole church, but to remoue the foolish argument made against that one heade: now they make not for one heade saye yow, ergo, they make rather against me.

Neither can youre scholasticall distinction of *caput absolutum* and *ministeriale* helpe the matter, nor yet *Hofius* declaration tending to the same ende, how bishoppes be bothe seruantes and lordes, can in this case any thing further you. For there can not possibly be one only heade ouer all the church, more then there can be one vniuersall ciuile heade absolute in earth, ouer all the worlde it selfe.

What a blinde harpar is this, that harpeth allwayes vpon

Rr 3 one

Dorman.
See the 11.
Chapitre
before,
and the
12.

Nowell.
fo. 79. a. 1.

Dorman.

Nowell.

A DISPROVE OF M.

one string, and giueth allwaies one solutiō to all argumen-
tes, and yeat neuer giueth other reason (to fortifie that
common solutiō grounded vpon Gods, not omnipotency
but impotency, and lacke of power) then that sory and fee-
ly reason (which nedeth as muche to be vnderpropped as
the other, and betwene which two comparisons the diffe-
rence hath bene manifestly showed before allreadie) of
gouerning the whole worlde by one vniuersall ciuile hea-
de. He neuer proueth, but euer repeateth: It is impossible, it
is impossible there shoulde be one heade, thinking that at the
lea ste by often repeting, and stoute bearing out the mat-
ter he shall make it at the length to seme right well proued
to the reader.

Nowell.
22.2.

I knowe M. Dorman dothe so qualifie this the popes supre-
macye terming him *caput ministeriale* the ministeriall heade, for
that Christe is the absolute heade of all. But yeat in respecte off
the wh ole church, as being vnder the Pope, he will haue hym
called *caput* the heade. But I woulde haue hym to make
that relation of *caput*, and these wordes *seruus seruorum* to agree,
and to be bothe *caput* and *seruus* or *minister*, *respectu eiusdem*: the head and
the seruaunt in one respecte, especiall ye claiming suche a * capita-
litye as dothe the Pope, which can not agree with the humble ec-
clesiasticall ministerie, &c.

* M. No-
well recei-
ue.

Dorman.

Luce. 9.

Belike you woulde haue apposed Christe, if it had bene
yours chaunce to be present, when he saide. *Qui minor est*
inter vos omnes hic maior est. He that is the leaste emongeste
you all is the greatest. Belike you woulde haue asked hym
how one could be the greater and the lesse. But do you not
yours selfe confesse that euerye bishop is the heade of hys
diocesse? And howe then M. Nowell doth that agree (I vse
yours owne wordes) with the humble ecclesiasticall ministry?
Is your heade the bishop's head ye seruant and a seruite heade?
Kinges and Princes are they not the heades of the people
who-

whome they gouerne, and yeat in that verie respecte that they be heades, ministres notwithstanding (as S. Paule witnesseth) and seruantes?

Rom. 13.

M. Dorman harpeth to muche vpon one string oute of tune for his purpose, I meane the example off the Iuish high prieste. &c.

Nowell.
b. 16.

Who twangeth moste vpon one string, that let the learned reader iudge. Once this is suer, that the string that you shoulde strike here, you touche not so muche as once. For I bringe not in this example of the high prieste off the Iues, at this tyme (as because I once did, you dreame that I doe still) to proue that there ought to be one onelye heade in Christes church, as there was emongest the Iues, but to deteete the vanitie of this reason of youres. Christe is heade of the church and able to rule the same himselfe alone, ergo, there nedeth no other. To this answered I, so was he being God heade of the Iuish Synagoge also, and as wel hable to rule the same without anye helpe or meanes as he is now to rule his church: Yeat was his pleasure to appointe a highe prieste &c. And therefore that ought to be no reason to persuaide vs that he dothe not or maye not do the lyke now. To this because yow were not hable to replye, you dissembled my meaning, as a little before in this verye place you doe, when you saye, that my examples make rather against me then with me. The whiche practise you vse also hereafter as in place shal be declared. For this matter I haue no more to saye, but to aduise you that you take youre harpe into youre hande, and twang once vpon the right string.

M. No-
well dis-
sembleth
my reaso,
and twan-
geth vpo
a false
string.

In prosecuting the confutation of that naughtie argument of youre Apologie, I vse the examples of Saule called in the scripture the heade ouer the tribues of Israel, of the

fol. 80. a.
24.
1. Reg. 15.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

1. cor. 11.

the husbände called by Paule the heade of his wife, off the Archebishoppe heade ouer the other bishoppes of his prouince, and conclude thereupon, that as it is no good reason to saye: God was heade of the tribues of Israel, therefore Saule was not. Christe is heade of vs all, men and wemen: therefore the husbände is not heade of the wife: The Archebishoppe is heade of the other bishoppes of his prouince, Therefore the bishoppes be not hedes: euen so that the argument of youre Apologie: Christe is heade of his church, therefore there is no other head, is a faulty argument, because if it were good, it shoulde exclude also (whiche it dothe not) the other heades that I named, confessed to be true heades in earthe. For, *que ratio partis ad partem, eadem totius ad totum*: the same proportion that is of the parte to the parte, the same is the proportion of the whole to the whole: that is, if their maie be a heade of one diocesse in earthe which is parte of the whole, notwithstanding that God is heade of the whole, there is no let by this argument but there maie be an other heade also vnder him ouer the whole. And so I proue the reason of the Apologie naught in the whole, *quia non valet in partibus*, because it is not good in the partes. To this reason of mine you neuer make answer, but dissembling it as you did the other before, you saie, that I bring these examples to proue that there be diuerse seuerall heades in earthe vnder Christe, So I did in dede. But why woulde I proue that? To proue that there ought to be one heade ouer the whole. Why saye you so for shame M. Nowell? Why dissemble you that whiche anye man that hathe his common sense can not but see to be otherwise? I bringe it to shewe howe absurde it is for you to graunte, that ouer the tribues off Israel there maye be a heade, ouer seuerall churches there maye be heades, withoute derogation to

Chri-

b. 13.

Christes honour who is the chiefe; and yea you will not graunte so muche to the whole church for the impediment of that pretended reason, (because Christe is the heade) which letteth not in particular churches. And therefore neither *Hofius* nor I care, whether Saul were head of the tribue of Levi or no, this example proving how euer it were sufficiently our intent, whiche is to disproue your folishe reason that because Christ is heade of his church there nedeth no other. When *Hofius* or I alleage this place to gather thereby that there ought to be one head in earth vnder Christ ouer all churches, then we will folowe your minde in cōcluding. In the meane season we take youre argument, that because Christe is the onelie heade ouer the vniuersall church, therefore there nedeth no other generall heade vnder him, to be by this example sufficiently confuted, as before I shewed. Yea because your desire is that it maie be considered, whether when the scripture saith that Saul was made heade of the tribues of Israël, he were appointed heade ouer the tribue of Levi also, that is ouer the cleargie, confidre it I praie yow and spare not, and when yow haue all considered and done, yow shall perceiue howe muche this exemption of the cleargie from the auctoritie of king Saul maketh against yow and youre companions, that will make kinges to rule the cleargie in causes ecclesiasticall, I doubt not but some of youre side that haue more staied heades then yowe, and that are lesse palsionat, will saie that yowe might haue kepte this consideration to youre selfe still.

And where yow mingle kinges and bishoppes together, whose offices are distinct, and vse the examples of the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and the bishop of London: what titles so euer your bishoppes when they were in those rōumes vsed or abused, I am suer they who be now in place, take it for their chiefe honour to be and to be called also gods ministers in his church.

Nowell.
b. 30. c.
fo. 11. d. 1.

ss

What

Dormas.

101

THE DISPROUFE OF M. NOWELL

What a worlde is this when protestantes complaine of mingling kinges and bishoppes together. As though the worlde knewe not who confoundeth and iumbleth together these two offices, they or we. But the faulte is founde with me for reasoning from their offices which be distinct. Why yow knowe M. Nowell if you haue not forgotten youre logike, that it is not necessarie that thinges compared shoulde be one in all pointes. They agree in this that kinges and bishoppes are bothe heades and gouernours, the pointe where in the comparison was made. Nowe whereas for this that I saie, that the B. of Cauntorbury is heade of the bishopricks and diocesse of London (as he is of all the bishopricks within his prouince) and that yea a man can not infer upon this that therefore the bishopp of London is not heade of that his diocesse, as yow doe in saing that because Christe is heade of the whole church: therefore there is no other vnder him; whereas I saie to this yow answere, that youre bishoppes take it for their chiefe honour to be and to be called gods ministres in his church, so doe oure bishoppes to M. Nowell, and vied no other titles, then those whiche your false bishoppes hauing falsely vsurped vse and abuse at this date, but what is that to the matter that we entreate of? Well be bolde man and blushe not: coffe ow that tuffe fleume that lieth in youre throte, and saie that the archebishop is of no more power then the bishop. If yow had saide thus, then had yow answered yea some thing, whereas nowe yowe haue answered nothinge. Except this maie stande for youre answer, when yow proue it, that neither Archebishop nor bishop maie be called heades of the churches that they gouerne, but rather kinges and princes. Whiche opinion because yowe see that it is contrarie to all that yow saied before touching the places of S. Cyprian and

Nowell
fo. h. 4. 6)

M. Nowell
laboureth
to helpe

101

12

and

and S. Hierome, where youe confessed so often that our
ie bishop was heade of his owne diocesse, to salve that sole
yow saie.

Yeat I denie not but that bishoppes maie be, and haue bene
though improperly, named heades euen by good writers, as the
scholemaister of a prince, in that the prince is his scholer is his hea-
de &c.

Surely bishoppes are muche beholden vnto youe, that
yow graunte them so muche auctoritie ouer their flocke,
as yow had ouer your scholers when yow were scholemai-
ster of Westminstre. But I praie you M. Nowell cal to your
remembraunce, that S. Ciprian saith of the bishop that he is
in the diocesse where he ruleth the iudge in Christs stede,
that S. Hierom calleth him the high prieste, that he must be
saith haue pearelesse auctoritie aboue all other, that schif-
mes rise by not obeing him and iudge with your selfe what
a handsome comparison you haue made. But admit-
ting euen youre owne similitude, you shall see how mu-
che you haue saide for the auctoritie of bishoppes against
that vnlauffull othe which you exact of all men. Ene as the
scholemaistre is in his schole the heade of his scholers all-
though they be princes: so be bishoppes the heades of such
as be in their seuerall bishoprikes although they be prin-
ces: but the scholemaister in his schoole is the supreme go-
uernour in all thinges and causes belonging to the schole
his scholers although princes hauing in those thinges no
power to commaunde. Ergo the bishoppes are, (every one
in his church) the supreme gouernours in all thinges ec-
clesiasticall, and princes haue no auctoritie to entremedle
therein. The which conclusion deduced M. nowell from
your comparison, as youre selfe with honestie can not mis-
like, so I trust it shall displease no prince, considering that,

St 2 as S.

his owne
contradi-
ction by a
folishe
shift.

Nowell,
a. 17.

Dorman.

Epist. 12.
ad Galat.
v. 10. no. 23
b. 10. 10. 1
1. 10. 10. 1

1. 10. 10. 1

Homil. 5.
de Esaie
verbis, vi-
di Dominū
The po-
wer of
the prince
and of
the priest.

AYDISPROVVE OF M.

as S. Ambrose saith, there can be nothing more honorable for the Emperour then to be called the sonne of the church. For a good Emperour (saith he,) is within the church not above the church. But because this sentence is become nowe in Englande by the meanes of certeine clawbackes to be odiousse, I will in defence of M. Nowell, if anye perhappes woulde quarell with him for giuing to bishoppes so greate auctoritie, adde out of Chrilostome, of hundreds of places that might be brought to that effect, only one, which is this. *Quamquam nobis admirandus videtur thronus regius ob gemas affixas, & aurū quo obcinctus est: tamen rerum terrenarū administratione fortitus est: nec vltra potestatem hanc præterea quicquam habet auctoritatis: verum sacerdoti thronus in caelis collocatus est & de celestibus negotijs pronuntiandi habet auctoritatem.* That is to saye. Although the kinges throne seme to vs merueilouse for the pretiousse stones and golde wherewith it is garnished, yett hath he only the administration of earthly thinges, and aboue this power he hathe no auctoritie, but the priest hathe his throne in heauen, and auctoritie to pronounce of heauenly affaires. And thus muche by occasion of the auctoritie that you giue to bishoppes as greate ouer their diocesse, as schoolemaisters haue ouer their schooles. I woulde further if it were not for troubling you, haue desired you to haue named some good auctor to iustifie this saying of yours, that bishoppes when they be called heades are so called improperly. But I refer that to youre good discretion and to your better laisour.

Whether Chryste nede to haue one to gouerne his church vnder him and howe.

The 23. Chapitre.

IT IS.

IT is true the Apologie and we all likewise saye, that neither hath Christe nede of anie suche one only heade vicair ouer all his church, which M. Dorman a little before dothe confesse him selfe: neither is it Christes will to haue any suche heade vicair. For though M. Dorman affirme that he so would, yet shall he neuer by the holie scripture, wherein Christes will is declared be able to proue it. Thirdly it is impossible for anie earthly man to haue and to execute anie suche office &c.

For the proufe of the first of these thre pointes you bring my selfe for a witnes in my booke fo. 9. b. Where I haue no such thing, but onelie this, that Christe had as little nede to gouerne his church in the olde lawe by the helpe of one heade, as he hath nowe. I denied not then but he had nede nowe. Therefore you continue youre accustomed wont of beelieng me. If you aske me how he hath nede which is God, I answere, that as he neded the witnesse of men as appeareth by this: *There was a man sent from God whose name was Iohn to beare witnes of the light.* And againe: *You shall beare witnes of me because you haue ben withe me from the beginning*, for the infirmities sake of men, not for him selfe: so for vs which can not commodiously be gouerned, nor well kept in orde without one heade, (a man as we are oureselues) to whome in all controuersies we might haue recourse, God hath nede of suche a heade. Thus take I nede: now taking it in youre sense, for absolute nede, I saie that he hath no more suche nede to haue anie in his place ouer euerie particuler church, then ouer the whole. For as well is he present where two or thre be gathered together in his name, and therefore withe euerie particuler church or diocesse, as withe the whole. To the seconde point that Christ will haue no suche heade vicair, the contrary whereof (you saie) I shall neuer be hable to proue by the holie scripture, I answere, that if you will stande to the in-

Nowell.
a. 30. & b.

Dorman.

A lye. 69.

Iohn. 1.

Iohn. 15.

Howe
God nedeth a
heade to
gouerne
his church.

Matth. 18.

• A DISPROVE OF M.

terpretation of Christes church, and the learned writers of the same vpon suche places as I shall bring, I shall be able to proue it. Christe saide to Peter. *And I saie to the that thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I builde my church.* Here is scripture. Chrysostome sayeth that by these wordes, Christe made Peter the shepherd of his church, and a litle after expounding these wordes: *And what so euer thou shalt binde vpon earthe,* that he made him the shepherd and heade thereof. And vpon that as a moste sure grounde and confessed truth, he disputeth against the Arrians, and proueth, that Christe who gaue suche preeminence to Peter, was not inferiour to his father. He compareth also Hieremias, and S. Peter together. To Hieremias (saioth he) *God the Father saide, lyke an iron piller, and like a brasen wall haue I put the.* But Hieremias the father placed but ouer one nation: Peter Christe placed ouer all the whole worlde. Christe saide to the same Peter. *Feede my lambes, feede my lambes. Feede my sheepe. His sheepe were the Apostles.* His whole flocke consisted of Lambes and sheepe. He committed therefore to his charge, young and olde, strong and weake. He excepted none nor the Apostles them selues. We haue here that Christe gaue the charge euen of his Apostles to Peter: We finde elles where that he bad him cōfirme his brethern. Showe you one place in the scripture where any other had lyke preeminence, or where this was taken awaye, and then you maye saye that Christe will haue no suche heade vicair. Chrysostome vpon this latter place sayeth: *Si amas me fratrum curam suscipias.* If thou loue me Peter take vpon the, the charge of thy brethern. And in an other place because you shall not wrangle and saye that this auctoritye died with Peter, he hathe, that he committed the same to his successours also. S. Augustine expounding this place of S. Iohn

Matth. 16.

Homil. 55.
in Matth.

Note.

Hierem. 1.

Iohn. 21.

Luce. 22.

Lib. 2. de
sacerdotio.

S. Iohn hath theſe wordes, *Dicit Dominus Petro in quo vno format eccleſiam, &c. Paſce oues meas.* Oure Lorde ſaith to Peter in whom alone he faſhioneth and frameth his church, feede my ſheepe. What other faſhioning or framing can you here vnderſtande of Chriſtes church, then that there ſhoulde be one heade for euer after, as he drew the plat thereof in making Peter heade of all? What other faſhioning then that, where of S. Cyprian as you heard be- fore ſpeaketh, when he ſaith that our Lorde diſpoſed the be- ginning of the vniuerſe of his church to procede from one. And thus muche for this time maye ſuffice for this ſeconde poin- te. The thirde hath bene often times answered before.

That the groundes whereon the Swenckfeldians lea- ne to banniſhe all Scripture, and thoſe that the heretikes vſe to ſpoile vs of one vniuer- ſall heade ouer Chriſtes church, are like, and that M. Nowell in handling this argument hath vſed many ſha- meful ſhiftes.

The 24. Chapter.

IN THE handling of this matter of *Swenckfeldius*, I haue obſerued that you haue diuided M. Nowell the who- le proceſſe in to three partes. In the firſte you purge your ſelfe and youre companions of that whiche you ſaye I charge you with all, of agreeing with the Swenckfeldians in their opinion: in the ſeconde you ſhewe wherein I com- pare you together: in the thirde you compare vs with *Suenckfeldius* and his. In the proſecuting of theſe pointes, you ſhewe right well that Nowell will be Nowell, as well as Geta will be Geta, as if the reader vnderſtand not I truſt he ſhall ere it be long.

To the firſte I anſwere, that I neuer burdened you with the

Sermo. de
verb. dom.
49.

Lib. de vni-
tat. eccleſie

Of impoſ-
ſibilitie.

fol. 82. a.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

the selfe same heresie that *Swenckfeldius* helde, but onely tolde you that by harping to muche on this string: Christ is euer present with his church, therefore there nedeth no man to succede him in the whole, yow might comme as neare hys heresie, as he that you charged therewith was farre from it. The labour therefore that you roke, the incke and paper that you spent, to purge youre selfe in this pointe was superfluous, and might well haue bene spared. And so would you I thinke also haue done, had you not thought that it shoulde helpe youre cause not a little, to perswade the reader off me, that I were an euill tongued man, and that I toke no conscience to sclaundre and sowe vntrue reportes of suche good men as yowe be. And therefore you conclude thus:

Nowell.
fol. 82 . a.
29.

Wherefore M. Dorman you haue done nothing elles but bewrayed youre moste maliciouse blindenesse, in saing that it is no other thing that the Huguenots and heretikes doe: and that we do leane and rest vpon the selfe same reasons and groundes as dyd *Swenckfeldius*.

Dorman.

Lo good reader, marke here I beseeche the, the vn honest dealing of M. Nowell. Whereas I saye, that the heretikes in that argument of theirs: Christ is euer present with his church. &c. doe no other thing then leane and reste vpon the same groundes for the banishing of the heade of Christes church, on whiche the *Swenckfeldians* doe for the abolishing of the scripture, in steppeth M. Nowell that true dealing man, and here in his conclusion diuideth my wordes, and for this one thing that theye doe no other then leane vpon the same groundes, maketh me to saye two thinges: Firste that the Huguenots and heretikes doe no other then the *Swenckfeldians*: and that they do leane and rest vpon the same groundes that *Swenckfeldius* did. Is it all one M. Nowell to saie yo doe no other then *Arrius* did, and you leane to the

M. Nowell altereth my wordes to saue him selfe from lying.

to the same groundes that *Arrius* did? Against transsubstantiation yow vse the same groundes, that the *Arrians* did against the word *Homousion*: for thei beleued it not because they saide it was not expressed in scripture, and yow beleue not the doctrine of transsubstantiation for the same cause: yea it is not true that you doe no other thē they in al thinges, because yow doe the same that they doe in one thing.

Youre railing talcke, and slaunderouse reportes in calling my doinges doltishe, my heade foolishhe, &c. because they be the floures of youre rhetorike strowed here to beautifie this first pointe, and also because how true they are I had rather make the worlde iudge then my selfe, I esteeme not, and therefore I passe ouer in silence. Whereas yow liken me to *Judas*, for that yow saie I haue forsaken my master *Christe* in hope of worldly gaine, although partly the condition and state of my life that I nowe leade will answer for me in that respect: yea thus muche I maie saie beside, that when I left youre pestilent and pernicious opinion being of age betwene fiftene and sixtene, it is not likely that I cast anie great eye after worldly gaine. If I had, I would belike hauing left my house and the hope of so good a felowship in so famous a college as the new college in Oxford is knowen to be, for my conscience sake in king *Edwardes* daies, haue ben afterward when the time serued better, a greater prowler, for liuinges thē I was, the greatest and only liuing that I had or desired to haue, being a felowshippe in *Allsollen* college. Or if fortune had not fauoured me then, if worldlie gaine had bene so muche in mine eye, I woulde in this time haue putt my selfe forward, when I sawe some of mine owne fellowes as meane as I, called to be Chauncelours to bishoppes, other some to be Archdeacons, manie to greate and riche benefices, and not contra-

T t riewise

fo. 83. b. 14

A DISPROVE OF M.

riewise haue abandoned all and sought strange countries, thinking there to finde worldye gaine. As for D. Harding althoug he be able to saie muche more for him selfe, yet this maie I saie because it is manifest, that in refusing to ioyne with yowe in youre heresies, he lost as good promotions as yow haue anie, and was a man coude he haue framed his conscience to your proceedinges, like to haue had as good parte of worldly gaine as yow or a better man then yowe either. But of this lewde lye I can saie no more but *transcat cum ceteris*. Nowe to the seconde point, in which yow procede thus:

A lye. 70.

Nowell.
fo. 84. a. 6

Swenckfield (saith M. Dorman) doth saie, we must haue no scripture &c. The Huguenotes and heretikes saie we must haue no pope of Rome to be heade of Christes vniuersall church. Lo Sir yow see a greate likenesse betwenethem &c.

Dorman.

M. Nowell cutteth away the chiefe parte off my wordes.

No greate likenesse in dede M. Nowell as yowe haue handled the matter. But if yowe had trulie and whollie reherfed my wordes, and added the cause which the Swenckfeldian bringeth for his opinion (because God can teache vs without) with the reason that yowe alleage why we ought to haue no heade of the church (because God is the heade him selfe, and can rule it without any other) then yff yow had cried, Lo Sir you see a greate likenesse betwenethem, other men had bene like to haue foorthed that in good earnest, which nowe yowe vtter so pleasantly in sporte. As yowe cutt of here the two reasons, in which bothe the Swenckfeldians and yow agree, they to banishe awaie the scripture, and yow to ouerthrowe the heade of the church: so to make the conference the more vnlike, yowe chaunge my wordes by casting in of the name of the pope of Rome, whome I name not here, but intreate onelie in generall wordes of one heade that ought to be in christes church

churche.

The nexte pointe wherein I compare yowe withe the Swenckfeldians is, that as they reiecte the scriptures sainge they are but dead lettres, so doe yowe the pope beinge the heade of the churche, saing that he is but a sinfull man as o-ther are, and therefore as ynmete being but a sinfull man to gouverne the whole churche, as is the scripture whiche they call deade lettres and to be accounted emongest other crea-tures, to signifie to vs the will and pleasure of oure Lorde God. Thus haue I shewed the similitude, why doe yowe skornefully mocke at it, and shewe not rather the dissimi-lirude?

Finally I compare yowe withe the Swenckfeldians, be-cause as they barre God of suche externall meanes as it ha-the pleased him teache to vs by, that is the scripture: so doe yow of suche externall gouernour as it pleaseth him to go-uerne his churche by, that is, one generall heade to gover-ne the whole. Thus I reasoned, and thus yow doe. Against the whiche yowe haue nothing to saie, bnt to singe youre olde song, often saide but neuer proued, that it belongeth to onelie Christe to gouerne his churche, and that it is impossible for one only man to doe it, and so conclude with a fit of rai-ling against the pope, and there an ende.

Whereas M. Dorman procedeth saing, that we tell Christe that he is of age, and able to doe it him selfe, and that therfore there is no remedie but he must nedes come downe and giue answere to all oure wise demaundes in his owne person: I trust that all men do knowe that M. Dorman did knowe, that he lied lewdely when he did write this.

I lied not M. Nowell. For althoughe yow saye not so muche in wordes, youre dedes speake as much all together, seing that yow alowe vs not one suche heade, as maie by his auctoritie ende and determine all controuerxies rising

T t 2 in the

A.10.

A.16.

B.8.

Nowell.
fo. 85. a. 7.

Dorman.

A DISPROVE OF M.

in the church, without the which either the church must from time to time be miserably shaken with schismes (whiche I thinke you meane not) either Christe come downe and giue answere in his owne person, whiche is the thing that yow be offendid with me for saing of you, vpon good and iust cause as you see. Hauing nowe as yow thinke well purged youre parte, yow will matche vs wiche Swenckfield, and therefore you saye.

Nowell.
a.30.b.3.

And M. Dorman and all the aduersaries to the truth maie be ashamed, to charge vs as not alowing Christe meanes to worcke his spirituall grace by, but vexing him by calling for his corporal presence: whereas they them selues (as those that thinke he can doe nothing excepte he be corporally present) woulde turmoyle him euery houre, and minute also from place to place, and would imprison him also in narowe and streight rounes, passing little ease in the tower of London manifolde.

Dorman.

If yow alowe him suche meanes as yow speake of, why make you so muche adoe about this, that he can rule his church alone, that he nedeth no other &cet? It is vntuly and blasphemously saide of you, that we woulde turmoile Christe euery houre and minute (which you meane of his presence in the blessed sacrament) from place to place, that that pretiouse body of his being reserued for the benefite of Christian men is imprisoned. We abhorre suche grosse and locall mutation as muche as yow. We saye wiche Chrysostome: *O miraculum: O dei benignitatem, qui cum patre sursum sedet, in illo ipso temporis articulo omnium manibus pertractatur.* O miracle, o the benignitie of God, which when he sitteth aboue with his father is in the same momēt of time handled with all mens handes. Thus it appeareth by Chrysostome, that Christe is not called out of heauen, but being present there with his father is also truly in the sacrament. We abhor youre figuratiue presence, your tropicall eating.

We alowe

Lib. 3. de
Sacerdotio

*Note.

We allowe not these meanes, because by the scriptures it is manifest that Christe excluded such meanes him selfe, and of his infinite goodnes giveth him selfe corporally to vs. Wherefore there is betwene vs and the Swenckfeldians in this point no conformitie at all.

The nexte point that you compare vs in to the Swenckfeldians, is, because they forbid the Scriptures vnterly; we forbid them to be reade of the laitie, keepe them in an unknowne tongue, and burne them written in known language.

There was neuer yeat any such prohibitiō that the learner sorte of the laitie did not, or might not reade the scriptures. If to the vnlarned sort it were not permitted, you shall finde that it proceeded rather of reverence towards the scriptures, and feare of that whiche nowe we see come to passe, lest while euerie man should folowe his owne sense, the worlde might be filled full of errors; and the holie scripture (as it happeneth to thinges that be common) contemned and set at naught, then of some such minde as with the which those heretikes reiect the scriptures. We burne Tindalles testament: we burne Mathewes, Coverdale his and Geneva Bibles, not because they are scripture, but because they are by false translations poisoned scripture. If the mother take the poisoned breade oute of the childe's hande, you ca not infer hereupon that she will giue it no breade at all. We agree not therfore in this point with Swenckfelde. Yow procede in youre comparisons and saie.

Thow must not be perfecte in the scriptures, say these false papistes to all laye men: it is ignorance that is the mother of deuotion: it sufficeth a laie man to haue *scilicet* an implicate faith &c.

We saie not that men must not be perfecte in the scriptures. The learned laye mē that be and in al ages haue bene of

fo. 16. a. 6
Nowell.

Dorman.

Nowell.

Dorman.

A lye. 71.

D. R. 28. 01
NowellContra e-
pist. Fun-
dam. Ma-
nich. cap. 4

one faith with vs. so excellently learned, and much more perfectly traded in them, then perhappes you would, doe sufficiently couince this to be a manifest and a grosse palpable lye. He that saide that ignorance is the mother of deuotiō (if he so saide) merit not to exclude the knowledge of any necessarie point of oure faith, but onely the desire of such curiouse vnderstanding, the which as being vnknewe it could not make men the lesse Christians: so were it likely to bring to passe, that the thinges which vnknewen before they reuerenced and honoured religiously, they shoulde now, first being knowne begin to dispute vpon, from disputing come to doubting, and from doubting if not to denieng, yea to lesse esteeming of them. With whome if you be offendid: alke S. Augustine why he taught him to saye so before? whose wordes are these, after that he had spoken of the more learned sorte: *ceteram quippe turbam non intelligendi viuacitas sed credendi simplicitas entissimam facit.* For the reste of the multitude, it is not the liuelinesse off vnderstanding, but the simplicitie of beleuing that maketh them moste sure. Lo M. Nowell you maie heare by S. Augustine, that it is no such absurditie nor commeth not so nere to Swenckfeldins heresie as you woulde haue it, to measure the peoples knowledge. Oure forefathers that contented them selues with the knowledge off the articles off their faith, the ten commaundementes of almighty god, (although it please you sclaunderously to saie of them that they coude no more explicate what they beleued then can a Popeniaye) passed yet so farre youre chattering pies, and iangling layes in all ciuile honestie and godlye deuotion, as the speache of a man passeth that of a Popiniaye. I call all indifferent men to witness.

Nowell.
28.2.

And the papistes speake of the holye Scriptures not onelye
as vn-

as vnreuerently and abhominably as *Swenckfelde*, but doe farre passe him in all outrage calling the Scriptures most contumeliously and blasphemously a nose of wax, and affirminge it to be but an vncertaine thing and like a rule of leade, applicable to euerye wicked sentence and to all purposes, except it haue the popes direction as a moste certaine and infallible rule.

It is easy M. Nowell to be perceiued howe you quarrell aboute nothing, and for lacke of better stufte thinke to stufte youre boke with such trifling toyes as these are. In the wordes that you alleage oute of *Pighius* what harme is there I praye you? What blasphemie haue you founde? Is *Swenckfelde* (you saye) calling the scriptures deade lettres, more wicked then is *Pighius* blasphemous, in terming it a nose of wax? Why content youre selfe M. Nowell, he calleth it not a nose of wax. You beely him deadly. His wordes are, *velut nasus cereus*, like a nose of wax. Is it all one to be, and to be lyke? So doe you also falsifie those other wordes of his, *tanquam plumbea quedam regula*, as a certaine leade rule, and make the comparison betwene the herenike calling the scriptures deade lettres, and *Pighius* terming them a rule of lead, a nose of wax, and aske what difference there is betwene them: whereas if the wordes had bene trulye compared, it had bene erth for anye man to haue saide that the difference is greate, seing that *Pighius* spake but by the waye of similitude to signifie howe pitorable the scriptures were to al purposes, not to condemne them as *Swenckfelde* did, but to warne men in the interpreting of scriptures to folowe that pillar of truthe, the common sense and sentence of the catholike church, for those are his wordes. By this meanes who can let you to quarrell with the scripture it selfe, and saye that it speaketh vnreuerently of Christe whome it calleth a stombling stone: yea you maye finde faulte with Christe him selfe, that likeneth his owne comming to iudgement to the comming of a theefe. If you thinke you haue any

Borrowed
oute off
the Apo-
logie.

Dorman.

fol. 87. a. 6
Pighius
belied.

A lye. 72.

1. Petr. 2.
Mat. 23.
1. Thess. 5.
Apoc. 3. 16.

ADISPROVING OF M.

ue anye vantage at *Pighius* or anye catholike man elles,
for sayng of scriptures that withoute the direction off the
churche they be vncerteine and appliable to euerye wicked
sentence, as for this you note vs also fol. 86. b. I reporte me
to youre selfe whether this be true, seing that for this sen-
tence of his of all other mooste wicked, *Swenckfielde* hym
selfe alleaged scripture. Although this sayng also to this ef-
fecte be not originally the saying of *Pighius*, but of *Tertul-
lian* that auncient writer, who writing a treatise euen off
purpose to displaie the maners and nature of heretikes, af-
ter that he hath warned vs that their proper tie is whe scri-
pture is brought to them, either vterly to denie it, ei-
ther elles if they admit it to peruert it with false and vnttrue
gloses, concludeth in this wise: *Ergo non ad Scriptu-
ras prouocandum est, nec in his constituendum certamen, quibus
aut nulla, aut incerta, aut parum certa victoria est.* Therefore
(that is to saye) we maye not appeale to the scriptures, nei-
ther is the strife to be ordered in them, by whome either
there is no victorie to be gotten, either vncerteine, or not
verie certeine. Nowe that you haue done with *Pighius*, you
flee vpon *Hosius*, as fierce as a ramping Lion of Cottel-
holde of whome you saie as foloweth.

Nowell.
fol. 87. a.
17.

Hosius youre greate estate for learning and vertue &c. in
comparing the gospell written in paper and inke, with the chur-
che which he calleth the liuely gospell (as though the other shoul-
de be called the deade gospell) goeth as neare to *Swenckfielde* as
foure pence doe to a groat.

Dorman.

I thinke you will not youre selfe denie if you were well
apposed *M. Nowell*, but that the lettre of the scripture com-
pared with the sense thereof is deade. From whiche phra-
se and maner of speache howe farre wyde are those wor-
des of oure Sauoure: *The lettre sleeth, it is the Spirit
that quickeneth.* Although yowe might if you had not
made

1. am. 6.

7. 1. 1. 1.

8. 1. 1. 1.

9. 1. 1. 1.

made a vow to interpret all things to the worst, haue giuen a more gentle interpretation to these wordes off *Hofius*.

It is a true proposition that *Hofius* vsed, that scripture is the worde, not of God, but of the diuell as heretikes doe alleage it. Why seing that *Hofius* toke it out of S. Hierome as yow confesse, doe yow not refell and confute it, but vsing youre auctoritie barely denie it? Why reherse yowe not his wordes wholly, but cutt awaie these in the midst of the sentence: *cui absit vt quicquam anteponendum esse putemus*, before the whiche scripture God forbid we shoulde thinke anie thing to be to be preferred? For so hath *Hofius*: *Scriptura quomodo proferatur a catholicis est verbum dei, cui absit vt quicquam anteponendum esse putemus: quomodo proferatur ab hereticis est verbum diaboli*. The scripture as it is brought furth by the catholikes is the worde of God, before the whiche God forbid we shoulde thinke anie thing to be to be preferred: as it is alleaged of the heretikes, it is the worde of the diuell. Yowe sawe well inough if yowe shoulde not haue cutt awaie these wordes, all the grace of the comparison in this point had bene marred by *Hofius* humble and reuerent speaking of the scriptures: but so were yow blinded with malice that all other yowe thought would haue bene as blinde as yowe, and no man haue noted so foule a faulte.

Yow staie not here, but to bring *Hofius* vttruly out of coe- ceit and to deface him with all men, you charge him with comparing the scriptures (Dauids psalmes) with rymes onely written by princes in oure daies, with a blasphemouse derision in matching them with fabulouse poëties.

Hofius compareth not the scriptures with rymes, but with metres *quibus dei laudes celebret*, to praise God by. With

V u

such

A. 27.

M. No-
well al-
leageth
Hofius
wordes
falsely.

In fine lib.
4. contra
Brentium.

Nowell.
fo. 38. b. 11

Dorman.
Hofius
once agai-
ne misus

fed by M.
Nowell.

A lye. 73.

A lye. 74.
b. 27.

fo. 39. a. 16

A lye. 75.

A lye. 76.

A lye. 77.

suche meetres what contempte or contumelie is it I praye
yow to compare the scriptures? Are not Dauides Psalmes
suche meetres? yow haue therefore once againe delt vnho-
nestly with *Hofius*, to snatche a parte of his wordes, and to
make youre vauntage therof, leauing those that most ma-
nifestly declare his meaning. He matcheth not at all the
scriptures with fabulouse poëties, that is an other lie of you
res. He saith that as learned and vnlearned write poëties
euerie where: so maie euerie kinge or prince or anie other,
write to the honour and praise of God without restraint.
The comparison is not betwene the scriptures and poëties,
but betwene the libertie that men haue to write of the one
argument or the other. And thus is this greate blasphe-
mous blast God be thanked well ouerblown.

The Iues are not suffered by the pope to vtter most hor-
rible blasphemies against Christe. It is a horrible lye.

We haue not giuen ouer preaching of goddes worde,
Lett those countries where Catholike religion flourisheth,
conuince yow to be a liar. Where there are in most meane
townes mo sermons in euerie of them in one daie, then at
re commonly in London in three. They be ordinarie also
thoroughoute the whole yeare, not bought with monie as
yours be. We barre not the people from reading and hear-
ring it. To that I answered before. We saie not that the
holie ghoste vseth to come from aboue into oure churche
without all helpe of meanes, as hearing, preaching, or rea-
ding. That is the fift lie, made within the compasse off
these fewe wordes.

Thus yow see good readers I trust euidently, that he
comparison made by me betwene the protestantes and the
Swenckefeldians, is in that point of building vpon like
groundes, the one parte to abolishe scripture, the other to
ouer-

ouerthrowe the generall heade of Christes churche in earthe, like, and therefore trulie made. The whiche is confirmed the more, for that, that as I haue shewed before, the aduersarie not sustaining to trie the comparison by such wordes as I made it, leaueth oute their reasons wherein they meete, and then crieth, Lo Sir yow see a greate likenesse betwene them fol. 84 a. 9. Yow see beside how to compare vs with Swenckfield he hathe wrested, mangled, and falsified the wordes of Pighius and Hosius, and laste of all charged the whole numbre of catholikes, with most euident and apparent vntruthes.

That Cardinall Hosius was impudently beelied
and sclaundred by the Apologie of the
churche of Englande, that M. Nowell
continuing the same
addeth more matter
thereto.

The 25. Chapter.

ITRUST that who so euer shall reade that conformitie betwene the papistes and Swenckfeldius, and bothe theire heresies before declared, and specially by the wordes of Pighius and Hosius him selfe, shall vnderstande that Hosius was not without cause charged with some affinitie to Swenckfeldius his heresie, &c.

Nowell.
fol. 90a. r.

Is the matter nowe come to affinitie M. Nowell? Well let it be so, I nothing doubte the learned readers iudgement euen therein also. Although this can not be denied but that your Apologie which yow take vpon you here to defende, in the first editiō therof, charged *Hosius* with these wordes: *Nos inquit, ipsas scripturas quarum tot iam non diuersas modo, sed etiam contrarias interpretationes adferri videmus, facessere iubebimus, &c.* VVe saierth *Hosius*, wil bid the scriptures them selues whereof we see so many not diuerse onely but plaine contrary expositions brought, farewell: and will rather here God speaking, then turne oure selues to these beggarly elementes, and put oure saluation in the. VVe must

Dorman.

A DISPROVE OF M.

not be cunning in the lawe and the scriptures, but be taught of God. The labour is vaine whiche is bestowed vpon the scriptures, For the scripture is a creature and a certeine weake element. Thus saith *Hosias*. Your Apologie goeth farder, and vpon these wordes triumpheth ouer *Hosius* comparing him to *Montanus* and *Marcion* the heretikes. Is this but to burden him withe affinitie M. Nowell? Fy for shame how long wil yow halte downe right? Maye yow not nowe be ashamed if shame there remaine anie in yow, to saye that the author of the Apologie saing this of *Hosius* beareth witnesse to the truthe? I haue hearde of certeine lewde men in oure countrie, who agreing emongest them selues to name eache thing by a contrarie name, haue framed a newe Englishe speache, wherein they haue bene able so to vtter their mindes, as beside their owne companions no other shoulde vnderstande them. Except you be of this brotherhode I vnderstande not youre Englishe, to make anie other sense of it then a plaine lye.

fol. 92. 25.

Whereas I call *Hosius* one of the greatest states of Christendome for learning and vertue, yow without all occasion make an impertinent discourse of Cardinales, of their hattes, of their moiles, and that forsothe because you thinke it yow saye, neither vnpleasant nor vnprofitable. Iff yow like a merie man studie to write pleasant thinges, and if occasion be not offred will take it youre selfe, rather then that suche pleasant matter shoulde perishe and be lost: I neither couet to comende and make salable to the worlde my doinges by suche toyes, and of all other thinke it moste vnmete for men of oure profession, especially one of your yeares and calling, to trouble the reader with suche triffls. If this wandring discourse of youre had had anie profit ioyned with the pleasantnes: yea is not euerie profitable thing

thing to be handled in euery place. Vnlesse yow thinke M. Nowell (to vse youre owne wordes) that yow maie mingle in *lente vnguentum*, thinges moſte impertinent together. And therefore I paſſe ouer this as wide from the matter, the whole effect thereof being nothing elles, but that the pope called the perſons and vicaires of the pariſhes in Rome to be Cardinales: a greate matter forſothe and worthy to be diſcourſed of at large, and therfore M. Nowell, or elles becauſe he knewe not how to make his boke growe to the biggneſſe that it is of, haſte about that onely matter beſtowed almoſt three whole leaues.

For his learning yow make Hoſius no bodie, as he that hauing firſt borrowed the matter of his boke out of other, was not hable neither without helpe to put it in good ordre together. Whiche you iudge probably you thinke, by the ſtile and poeticall phraſes vnmeete for Hoſius age and vocation.

Here firſt the Apologie and yow agree not M. Nowell. For the Apologie ſayeth of him, *certe homo diſertus, & non indoctus, & acerrimus ac fortiffimus propugnator eius cauſae*: truly an eloquent man, not vnlearned, and an earneſt and moſte ſtrong defendour of that cauſe. If he borrowed and ſtolle all the learning and reaſons that are in his bookes, how appeareth it that he is not vnlearned? If he hired clerkes and ſtilewrightes as this cunning lyewright ſaith he did to pen it, where is his eloquence? The Apologie iudged (the ſtile, poeticall phraſes or verſes notwithstanding) that his boke ſhoulde be of his owne penning, otherwiſe there was no cauſe to call him eloquent. And ſurelie who ſo euer he be that penned the Apologie, if the matter came to be tried by the countrie, who were beſt able of yow two to iudge in theſe matters, yow were like to haue the worſe.

fo. 92. b. 5.

The Apo-
logie and
M. No-
well a-
gree not
about
Hoſius
learning.

His vertue you woulde drowne with polonische pottes, and bring for youre witnes as honest a man as youre selfe *Jacobus Andree*, his knowen aduersarie. Whereas the contrarie is so well knowen in *Polonia*, that the greatest faulte that some finde with him is, that he will neither for anie mannes pleasure quaffe to other, neither answer anie other quaffing to him. Whiche league of Christian sobrietie, *Martinus Cromerus* and he making together being then bothe canons of the same churche, they haue so trulie kepte euersence, that they haue at the length obtained full quietnes from being troubled anie more in any companie, with the suche sinfull ciuilitie. And a sobrer man is there not in his diete emongest you all (loke who is the sobrest) then Cardinall *Hosius* is, as a good and a learned man a countrie man of our owne, liuing nearer to him the *Jacobus Andree*, euen with him and at his owne table, and obseruing diligently his trade of life twelue monethes together, hath being earnestly required vppon his certaine knowledge, reported to me. But let this passe as one of the ordinarie sclaunders of heretikes. It is not the first time that *Jacobus Andree* hath deceiued you M. Nowell. It was he that made the compilers of youre Apologie to tell that fowle lye of *Hosius*, that afterwarde in the seconde edition they corrected. You see therefore what cause there is to truste him in his reportes of *Hosius*.

Nowell.
b. 3.

And by the waye note that to speake trulye of a forreine false Polonische papist, is with M. Dorman accounted sedition, & cet.

Dorman,

A lye. 78.

And I desire the reader once againe to note, that M. Nowell will neuer make an ende of belieng me. I call you not seditionse for anye thing that you speake be it true or false
against

against *Hosius*. The wordes that I call seditious be cloked with the name of Christe, of whome you make no mention speaking of *Hosius*. The wordes that I call seditious and warne men to beware of, are these: Christe is heade of the church: therefore there needeth no other. As appeareth by the sentence that foloweth nexte: *What other thing did their forefathers Chore, Dathan, and Abiron, &c.* What meane you to saye here that yowe haue spoken trulye of *Hosius* in your Apologie? If you spake trulie, why did the same Apologie reuoke it in the second edition?

That the reason taken from the example of Chore, Dathan, and Abiron, against the gouernement of Moyses and Aaron, is one with that whiche the protestants make against the gouernement of one heade,

fol. 94. a.

The 26. Chapitre.

TO THIS reason you begin firste to answer in the seconde side of the 95. leafe the 4. lyne. All that goeth before is impertinent to the reason, and decked with the accustomed flowers of youre railing Rhetorike. The obiection of Moyses and Aaron, wherby you would proue that there were two high priestes at once, &c. is answered by me, if it had pleased you to haue taken the paynes to haue looked so farre in the 34. and 35. leafe of my firste booke. Nowe to the place of *Chore, Dathan, and Abiron* of the whiche you saye thus.

fol. 95. b. 5

Concerning the reason made by Chore, Dathan, and Abiron, that the people ought not to obeye their gouernours because they be all holyc, and that therefore the magistrates ought not to liste them selues aboue the Lordes people, it is not oure reason & cet.

Nowell.
B. 5.
* These
wordes
and the top
de is em-
gest them
left oute
by M. No
well.
Dorman.

No in dede M. Nowell as you haue alleaged it, it is not
your

A DISPROVVE OF M.

your reason. But if you had truly reported it, it would have gone as nere to your reason as twelue pence to a shilling. But you doe here as you did before with the reasons of Swenckfelde, that is, leaue oute the chiefe reason wherein the comparison is made, and then crie oute vpon me for making suche wise comparisons. Who seeth not that I compare you hereto these schismatikes refusing to obeye Moyses and Aaron, not because they saide they were all holy, but because they added, *& in ipsis est Dominus*, and the Lorde is present with the multitude, as you refuse that one heade of Christes church, because Christ is present with his church. As for the wordes that you note here in the margin of youre booke, *multitudo sanctorum*, and *populus domini papa*, as though you could thereby make some shewe that this place might be applyed to Chanon Chore, Deane Dathan and his felowes, it deserueth to be rather laughed at then answered, seeing that bothe it is a manifeste lye whether with you soleundre the cleargye, who neuer called themselves the holy people of the greate Lorde of Rome, as you here seime, and also it is well knowen, that what so euer liberties and immunities the cleargye had, the same were giuen as the faithe increased by Emperours and kinges themselves, and therefore they were moste far from the maner of reasoning vsed by these schismatikes.

Nowell.
B. 25.

Nowe whereas M. Dorman alleageth the Apologie as thus reasoning, that the church hath no neede of any other ruler, because Christ is with it: truth it is, if M. Dorma doe meane one only heade of the vniuersall church. For Christe nedeth no suche generall gouernour, seeing he is bothe present him selfe continually by his spirite as he promised, and also for that he hath in euery peculiar countrey and church his Moyses and Aaron, that is to saye his seuerall deputies in his steede euerye where here in earth: for that no one mortall man can possibly suffice to the gouernaunce of the whole worlde or church. &c.

If ho

If he nede governours of euery peculier churche, where he is no lesse present then with the whole: why nedeth he not aswell one chiefe heade to gouerne the whole? who shall emongest so manie heades diuided into partes, euerye one thinking his opinion to be best, strike the stroke and preferue vnitie? If yowe saie God maie so preferue euerye bishop that he fall not into heresie, you put god to worke daily mo miracles, then he doth to preferue the chiefe bishop of all whiche yet you stagger to graunte as a thinge impossible. The wordes folowing in youre Apologie, that no one mortall man can suffice to the gouernement of the whole worlde or church, I of my accustomed sinceritie omitted yow saye. And what haue you gotten by it, nowe you haue alleaged it youre selfe? Verilie this, that you will make all men vnderstande, that god is able with you to doe no more, then you list to giue him leaue: but of this I haue entreated before sufficiently. You saye that you are far from rebelling against youre naturall soueraigne and other gods ministers appointed to gouerne you &c. But how farre M. Nowell, I praie you? Who made the boke of succession at home? Who founded the two traiterouse blastes against the mostrouse regiment of women their Quene being a woman? From whence were they blowen but from the lake of Gehenna? Who grudgeth against the princes ordinaunce in matters indifferent and of small importance, no greater then of a square cap? Who made warre against their prince in Scotland? Who set all Fraunce in an vprore against their king? Who but that vnhappy vermine the protestants? *That which foloweth fol. 96.b. and 97.a.b. is answered before.*

fo. 96. a. b.

Nowell.

Dorman.

That the waye to ouerthrow
heresies is not by the
only scripture.

Fol. 68.
vsque ad
fol. 106.

X x

The

The 27. chapter.

M. Nowell reprehending other men for vnreuerent speaking of the scripture, speaketh of all other most vnreuerently him selfe.

THIS matter hath bene sufficiently handled before in the 21. chapitre. And allthough in me it be a greate faulte and highly laide to my charge, to alleage thise one place of scripture, yet muste yowe good readers beare withe M. Nowell, if he alleage his absurde and wicked assertions more then six times thise, and maie not in any wise twite him with the prouerbe *Crambe his*, that to muche of one thing is naught; yea allthough he neuer proue anie of them once. But maie yowe not be ashamed M. Nowell so vnjustly to charge *Pighius* and *Hofius* with vnreuerent speaking of the scripture, when youre selfe in this place, applie your prophane prouerbe to signifie that to muche of scripture maie be nought, that anie place thereof maie so often be alleaged that it shoulde become vnfauiory? By what auctoritie claime yow (I praie yowe tell vs) suche libertie, that yowe maie speake of the scriptures that whiche is vnlauiull and plaine blasphemie, and other maie not vse so muche as similitudes or comparisons betwene the scriptures and other prophane thinges? Why is it lauiull for yow so oftentimes to repeat these heathenish wordes, that it is impossible for one man (assisted by gods grace for otherwise we affirme it not) to gouerne the whole church of Christe, that we be like to the Phariseis and high priestes of the Iues, you to Christe and his apostles, that there ought no more to be one chiefe heade to gouerne the church then one emperour to gouerne the whole worlde, that the pope can not be iudge in his owne cause (as though goddes cause were his owne priuate cause) with suche like absurdities a nombre mo, and maie not be lauiull for me to alleage thise the holie scripture of God, to proue three seuerall pointes. Firste
that

that it could not be likely, that God providing for his chosen people the Iues a chiefe and heade gouernour to ende and determine all their controuersies, would not for his church which he loueth more tendrely, where he knewe should be greater nede, doe the like: nexte to answer the-
 by youre foolish reason: Christe is heade of his church, and present allwaies with it, therefore there nedeth no other. By which reason I saide, that God should haue provided for the Iues no chiefe heade neither, because he was present also with them, and no lesse their heade then oures. Thirdly, to shewe that the onely conference of scriptures is not sufficient to ende all controuersies rising vpon the doubtfull meaninge off the lettre, seing that if it so had, almighty God would of all likelihode haue bidden the Iues doe so, and not trouble them selues and the high priest for the matter. Thus yowe see good readers howe I alleage thise thys one place off scripture, which argueth M. Nowell saith miserable distresse. But I truste suche as be off sounder iudgement haue learned to giue that reuerence to holie scripture, that what so euer they see confirmed by one onely sentence taken out of the same, that they will thinke as sufficiently proued, as iff there had bene many brought therfore. If a man should aske of M. Nowell what distresse he was in, when to proue that there must be manie kinges to gouerne the worlde, he alleageth so often alone without anie other in his whole booke, that sentence of Ecclesiasticus some times twise in one leafe as fol 32. and 62. which neither proueth his entent, and is taken besides out of that booke which he and his companions haue noted to be insufficient to establishe anie doctrine by, I marueile what answere he would make. What should I here mention the councell of Africa so many times

The place
of Deuter.
alleaged
by me
thise, to
three se-
uerall pur-
poses.

cap. 17.

In the ar-
ticles a-
greed vpo
in the C^o
uocation
anno. 1562

A DISPROVVE OF M.

brought in? What shoulde I tell you of the same textes and gloses so often reherfed to one purpose? Your selues good readers in reading this boke of his, shall beare me witnes that I lye not. You haue here repeated againe, that the high prieste must iudge according to the lawe whiche no man denieth, for so saith the texte that he shall: that S. Paule threatened Gods vengeaunce to the high prieste, that S. Peter and S. Iohn asked boldely him and his, whether it were right in the sight of god, to heare them rather then God, to all the which you haue my answer before in answering the.59.b. and the.68. leaues a. You haue beside serued in the seconde time, the places of S. Austen, and Chrysostome, to proue that conference of the textes of scripture one with the other, is a good waye to atteine to the vnderstanding of doubtfull places. Thus much was saide before in the.71. leafe b. to the which in the same place I answered as I now doe, that it is a verie good waie in dede, but not suche as is able allwaies to assure vs of the right sense. Nowe iudge I beseeche you good readers, who vseth ofteneft to repeat the same thing, M. Nowell or I.

a 29.
b.28.

fo. 99. a. b. Nowell. b 26. Where as you saye: M. Nowell. And no doubt but the iish priest appointed to resolute other men of their doubtess did him selfe vse the saide conference of scripture, &c.

Dorman.

Malach. 2.

To that I answered, that this maketh nothing for your purpose if he so did. For although the high prieste whose lippes were promised to keepe knowledge, were for the office sake which he sustained, so directed in the conference of scripture that he neuer failed in his iudgements: yet hereof foloweth it not, that euery priuate man by suche conference shoulde be hable to doe the like. The generall councelles at this daie, the popes at all times, haue vied you maie be sure this waye also of interpreting doubtess arising vpon

vpon the scripture. We mislike it not therefore in them to whome it apperteineth to explicate suche doubtles, but in suche onelie as being priuate men vse this for a cloke to couer their heresies: in them we mislike it thus far, as either they content not them selues with suche sense as the whole church hath allreadie vpon the conference of suche doubtfull places agreed vpon, either elles taking that office from publike auctoritie, will presume them selues to giue suche sentence (proceeding this waye) as maye best seme to make for their singuler opinions.

To this reason of mine, that if laing and conferring together of one texte with an other were the surest and readiest waye to come to the true vnderstanding of all doubtles, God woulde of all likelihode haue commaunded it, and not haue sent his people to the high priest, nowe at the length M. Nowell in the ende of two leaues and a halfe, in the which he hathe done no other thing but first vttered him selfe how muche this place of Deutero. griueth him, then vainely repeated that the prieste is bound to iudge according to Goddes lawe, that when he did not S. Paule cursed him, S. Peter and S. Iohn disobeied him, that conference of the scripture is good and necessary: now I saye after that he hathe filled vp two leaues and a halfe with this matter denied by no man, and with the which he filled as manye before, he maketh a proffer to answer in this wise.

But saith M. Dorman God comaunded not, any suche conference of scriptures, but only to resorte to the high priest: yea I trust M. Dorman is not ignorant what it meaneth, that God and oure Sauiour Christ doe so earnestly exhorte all mē to the diligent reading and studie of the scriptures, and doe condemne the ignorance or wat of knowledge therof. And where he saith, God hath not comaunded suche conference of scriptures (which yea in effecte he hath comaunded) it is happy that he can not shewe where God hath forbidden it, which if he coule he woulde not haue failed to

Nowell.
fo. 100. a.
29. b. 1.

A DISPROVFE OF M.

haue done.

Dorman.

*The conference here met, is suche as must serue for the finall resolution of all doubtcs.

You tell men what I saide, whiche they knewe before, but your answere to my saing whiche here they looked to haue had, you giue them not. I saye that if conference of one place of the scripture withe an other had bene the surest waye to resolue all doubtcs, God woulde rather haue commaunded that then going to the prieste: you answere, that God and Christe exhorte vs to the diligent studie of scripture, that * suche conference he hathe commaunded in effect (without shewing when, where, or by what wordes, notwithstanding that herein consisteth the answere to my obiection) that it is happy that I can not shewe where it is forbidden: whereas euen in the very place that I bring here, when I shewe that almighty God commaunded the ordinarie waye of resoluing doubtcs to be the sentence of the highe prieste, I shewe withall, that he forbadde also conference of scripture in such wise as we here take conference, that is to be the finall and laste resolution of determining doubtfull controuersies arising vpon the lettre. Excepte any man (you thincke) maye be so desperate hardye, as when God hathe appointed one waye, to choosē anye other as not forbidden. That whiche foloweth: But seing, &c. is one of youre extraordinarye walckes, and pertaineth not to my obiection, but yeat serueth well for youre purpose to giue vs the slippe, and to wynde youre selfe from the matter. To my demaunde what heretike was euer vanquished by the scriptures, you saye:

Nowell.
fol. 101. a. 5

I answere, the Arrians, Anabaptistes: and all heretikes without exception were vanquished and ouerthrowen by the scriptures: and that if they were not vanquished by the scriptures, they were not vanquished at all.

By

By youre answere it shoulde seme M. Nowell, that either you vnderstande not my demaunde, or you will not vnderstande it. For when I speake of vanquishing of heretikes, I meane of ouerthrowing, and so cōfuting their heresies, as that they maye with the worlde be brought vtterly oute of conceite, and the memorye of them cleane abolished and extinguished, as we see Arius heresie (once more vniuersall then yours) God be praised to be. I meane not you maye be sure, that the heretikes them selues shoulde confesse them selues to be ouercomen. Againe, when I aske how they were vanquished by the scriptures: I vnderstande, by the scriptures alone, by the scriptures withoute a iudge, who in this doubtfull contention (where the Arrian bringeth scripture as well as the catholike, as apparent as the catholike, more plentifully then the catholike: where no other place of scripture can by the catholike be brought to make the matter plaine by waye of conference, but the aduersarie will be readie to alleage as euident for him) maye giue sentence whether parte hath the better right, who alleageth and conferreth the scriptures moste sincerely. Thus did the councell of Nice ouerthrowe the heresie of Arius, although not so that he him selfe coulde be brought to acknowledge so muche: yea in suche wise that in processe of time the worlde giuing credite to so learned and generall a councell, fell from his heresie, and nowe there is not one fauourer thereof in the whole worlde that dare shewe his face. Thus shoulde youre heresies and all other be ouerthrowen, if we woulde either in suche thinges as the church hath already determined, folowe that sense of the scriptures that it hath deliuered to vs, either elles in thinges ambiguouse and not defined, aske and folowe the iudgement therof. For that you here cauill, that the pope nor popish

churche

Nowell
b. 4

A DISPROVFE OF M.

church can be cōuenient and cōpetent iudges in controuerfies nowe risen, for that they are bothe parties and parties accused therein, no more then the Iuishe high prieste with his church of Scribes and Phariseis, were conuenient and competent iudges in the controuerfies betwene them and Christes Apostles.

Dorman.
Cap. 12.
fol. 164.

The absurditie of this comparison bothe I haue there where before in like maner you made it, sufficiently declared, and the Arrians also might haue pleaded this plea against the councell of Nice. In the whiche the fathers assembled were as much affected against Arrius heresie, as the late councell of Trent, or anye that can be holden is againste youres. Yeat do not the histories mention that euer they were so impudent.

Nowell.
b. 15.

Touching the conference of Scriptures together, I did so late before at large intreate thereof, that I nede not nowe to repeat the same againe.

Dorman.

M. Nowell answereth
not the
force of
my reason.

As largely M. Nowell as you intreated thereof, you saide neuer a worde howe this controuerfie betwene the Arrians and the catholikes bothe alleaging scripture for their defence, might be by onely scripture determined. To pretende therfore that it is no nede to repeat that which you neuer touched, it is a pretie figure to excuse silence in that wherein you are able to saye nothing. If you feared you shoulde haue dwelled to longe in that matter, you might haue eased that by cutting of manye impertinent discourses, that bothe go before and folowe after in this booke off youres, namely the nexte sentence that foloweth, wherein you labour to proue youre selues to be no Arrians, with the whiche heresye neither I, nor anye other doe charge yowe. To procede, whereas I aske howe it happeneth that the Caluinistes and the Lutherans agree not by conferring one place of scripture with an other, to that you saye.

Nowell.
fol. 102. a.
23.

This is M. Dormans vsage, when he can saye nothing off the present

present case to entremingle foraign matters, thereby to auerte the readers minde from his principall cause remaining vnproved still.

The principall cause is, that there muste be one visible heade in Christes church to appease controuerfies and determine doubtess: the heretike saith it nedeth not, the scripture by diligent conference beinge able to satisfie all men therein. To this I replied, how happeneth it then, that the Calvinistes and Lutheranes agree not &c? Nowe lett all men iudge how truly yowe reprehende me for entremingling foraign matters. But let vs here youre answer to the question.

Dorman.

But how so euer Calvin and Luther agree in the exposition of those fewe wordes, *Hoc est corpus meum*, This is my bodie, they agree bothe in this, that the papistes expounde them falsely.

Nowell.

Who euer hearde a more absurde or folishe answer? Or what answer rather is this to my question, to tell vs that the Lutheranes and Calvinistes agree together against vs? So did as the scriptures beare witnesse the phariseis and Saduces: so did Herode and Pilate agree against the pretious bodie of Christ at the Crosse, as yow doe against it at the altar. S. Austen saith of heretikes, *Disfenciant inter se, contra unitatem omnes consentiunt*, Emongest them selues they are at variaunce, against vnitie they all agree. My selfe also in the nexte sentence folowing confesse as muche, that although heretikes in some point dissent, yeat they all ioyne and agree in one cancred hatred against the church. What letterth by this meanes why yow shoulde not easilie reconcile together all that huge rable of heretikes mentioned in the table of late set furthe by M. Stapleton, who hauing one common father with yowe (although in manie pointes dissenting) agree yeat all with yow against vs? But what

Dorman.

Luce. 13.

Lib. sine
Homil. de
omnibus

Yy is this

is this I saie to the purpose? Answer if you be hable: if scripture can alone ende all controuersies, howe happeneth it that the Lutheranes and Calvinistes ende not there strife thereby, whiche continueth notwithstanding their agreing against vs? It foloweth.

Nowell.
A.26.

For to vse the places by M. Dorman noted out of Hosius, he, nor all papistes with him shall neuer be hable to shewe cause, why these wordes, *Ego sum uitis uera*, I am the true vine, do not proue as well a transubstantiation, as *Hoc est corpus meum*. This is my bodie.

Dorman.

What this (For) shoulde pertain to the answering of my question I see not, this I see well, it confirmeth strongly my saing, that by scripture alone all controuersies can not be iudged. For as Calvin bringeth for his opinion this place: so I trust yow are not ignorant that Luther had also his places to alleage for him selfe. When this question of the blessed sacrament shall be the principall matter betwene yow and me, yow shall haue a cause why these wordes *I am the true vine*, proue not so well a transubstantiation, as the other, *This is my body*, doe. In the meane season where as yowe aske what a rule yowe shoulde haue had, if Christe had saide likewise: This is my true and verie bodie, as he saide I am a true or verie vine: trulie M. Nowell no highlier should the matter haue bene taken then it is. For to vs Christian men it is inough that Christe hath once saide it is his bodie. We woulde beleue an honest man vpon his worde if he shoulde tell his name and saie that he were suche a one, and neuer put him to saie that he were trulie suche a one. I see no cause but yowe might if it pleased yowe, haue a good an opinion of Christ. Who notwithstanding to stop the mouthes of suche Capernaïtes as yow are, hath added also the worde (truly) saing, *For my fleshe is truly (or verily) meate, and my bloude is verily drinke*. The whiche wordes

Joan. 6.

Hilarius

Hilarius expounding, saith, that there is no place left to doubt of the trueth of the fleshe and bloude of Christe, seeing that bothe by oure Lordes owne wordes and oure faith, it is trulie fleshe and trulie bloude.

I saide, that if because the Apostle or Christe him selfe vseth a figure in one place, we must thinke that in all other he neuer spake otherwise, by that abhominable doctrine there were no let if a man would be so wicked, to holde that Christe were not the true and naturall sonne of God, but by adoption onely, and bring for the maintenaunce of that wicked heresie, that texte, *dedis eis potestatem filios dei fieri*, He gaue them power to be made the sonnes of God. To this yow answere nothing at all: I trust it be not (yow knowe the rule since yowe were prolocutor in the conuocation) because, *qui tacet consentire videtur*, he that holdeth his peace semeth to consent. Charitie would rather interpret your silence to procede of lacke of iust matter to answer, and so doe I, although yowe deale not allwaies so frindely with me.

What so euer I haue saide here of the controuersie of the sacrament out of place, leauing my purposed matter vnproued, is (yow saie) verie fonde. What so euer I haue saide here of the sacrament, hath bene vttered vpon the occasion of Luther and Caluins disagreement: who because they cannot be reconciled by the scriptures, that blocke laied by you in the waie, that the scripture onely is the sufficient iudge to ende all controuersies rising vpon the doubtfull meaning of the letre is remoued, and so my purposed matter proued, that there must be an other iudge then the scripture. What haue you nowe wonne, to shewe you that I am not ashamed of mine owne phrased?

As before I proued that the Arrians, Lutheras, and Cal-

Y y 2 uini-

Lib. 3. de
Trinit.

Joan. 1.

An obie-
ction left
vnan-
swered by M.
Nowell.

B. 9.

A DISPROVE OF M.

ministes, could by no meanes by onelie scripture be overthrowen: so now I proued the same by the Anabaptistes, alleaging in like maner suche places of scripture as they bring for their defence. And as you answered before nothing to the obiections of the Arrians, Lutherans, and Calvinistes: so doe you here passe ouer in silence the answer to the Anabaptistes, and purge your selfe and youre companions, that yow be no Arrians, no Anabaptistes, with the which Heresies you were neuer charged by me. You take holde also of those wordes of mine where I saie, that the catholikes doe repress and ouerthrowe the brutish opinions of the Anabaptistes. To the which (being but wordes incidently cast in) I marueile how anie man reading youre boke can forbear laughing, to heare you slipping from the principall point, make this solemne answer to that which neded none at all.

VVe answer: that it is moste certeine and well knowne to the worlde, that oure men haue saide and written more against them then euer did the papists. VVherfore we be therein, as in all other thinges in deede, the Catholikes and not they.

What so euer you haue written M. Nowel against them, you are notable by the scripture alone to ouerthrow them, whiche is the thing that being denied you ought to haue proued. But by the waye note I praie the that art the learned reader, a clerckly conclusion of M. Nowelles, whereby he proueth his companions to be the Catholikes and not vs, because they haue saide and written more against the Anabaptistes, then we haue done. Is not this trowe you a notable argument to proue that no man is a catholike but he that hath spoken and written against heretikes, nor he neither, if an other haue saide and written more then he.

You saie that the mention that I made of the Swenckfeldians

fo. 103. a. 8
M. Nowell lea-
ueth vnanswered
that
to whiche
he should
answere
and answereth
that, that
nedeth
no answer
Nowell.

Dorman,

A clerckly
conclusion
made
by M.
Nowell.

b. 2.

feldians, Arrians and Anabaptistes, was altogether impertinent to my purpose. I have proved the contrarie before: now let the learned reader iudge thereof. You charge me with declaiming against the scriptures and worde of God. That is a lye. You call it a feely similitude and cruell likelihood that I make betwene the Iuishe high priest and the pope. I marvel not that you should call it, for it clittereth the throte of all youre heresies. You vse often and gladly I perceiue, this worde Iuishe high priest, as though you would therby insinuat to the simple and vnlarned, that my example were naught as taken from the Iewes, the very name of whom, to those that haue more zeale then knowledg, you knowe to be odious, and therefore against that meaning I warne the vnlarned, that the Iewes that were then whereof this Iuishe priest was heade, were goddes church and chosen people. You cal the pope and papistes heretikes, and their doctrine heresies. You acknowledge him not to be the supreme heade or gouernour ouer all the church. As long as you be not able to proue it, it maketh no matter, youre tongue is not autentike.

Nowe where M. Dorman would proue the conference of scriptures a vaine or euill thing, because the Arrians and Anabaptistes vsed it, and vs to be heretikes as they be, because we vse the same groundes, to witte, conferring of scriptures together: he might as well reiect all alleaging of scripture because the Diuell vsed it, and conclude that we be of the diuell, because we vse the same groundes that he doth, that is to say, the alleaging of the scriptures. Yea and he maye by the same reason, finde faulte with the Christe oure Sauour and his holy apostles, who doe so muche vse the same alleaging of scriptures.

I go not about to proue the conference of scriptures a vaine or euill thing, neither because the Arrians and Anabaptistes vsed it, neither for any other cause: you haue therefore beelied me once more. I acknowledge it to be bothe

Y y 3 prof-

Alye. 79.
Nowell,
b. 12.

Nowell,
b. 12.

Dorman.

The way
to the
world
Nowell,
fol. 104. a
1.

Dorman.

Alye. 80.

profitable and necessarie; only I saie that to ende all con-
 troversies it is an insufficient meanes. Because reiecting
 the determination of the church, you take vpon you as
 the Arrians did and the Anabaptistes doe, to mainteine
 youre heresies by this pretended conference of scripture,
 not regarding that suche iudgement belongeth to the church,
 therefore I call yow and iustly terme you heretikes.
 And as I doe reiect this conference that you talcke of, be-
 cause you vse it to that ende that these heretikes did: so
 doe I refuse all suche scripture too as is falsely wrested, as
 was that whiche the diuell alleaged. In whiche sense becau-
 se Christe and his Apostles neuer alleaged anie, I can not
 finde faulte with them.

Nowell.
 a. 20.

Dorman.

The way
 to ouer-
 throwe
 heresies.

I can not (you saye) deuise a waye that shoulde satis-
 fy all heretikes withoute all contradiction or exception on their
 partes.

I can denie no waie in dede M. Nowell to satisfie al here-
 tikes: it passeth my power I cōfesse. But God hathe deuised
 a waye to ouerthrowe all heresies, if suche as you are woul-
 de be no let to his working. And that is the thinge that
 ought to suffice vs. Will you knowe what waye it is? Forso-
 the if this principle and grounde the which I labour to pro-
 ue, that Christes church here in earthe being but one and
 visible, hathe also one chiefe visible heade to rule and go-
 uerne the same, were thoroughly as it ought to be persua-
 ded to all men, then the heretike which nowe by coloured
 argumentes triumpheth ouer, not onely the meaner sorte
 but also oftentimes many of the wiser and better learned,
 the thinge called into question being either suche (as is the
 question of baptising of infantes) as whereof we haue no
 expresse scripture, but onely a tradition continued in the
 church from the Apostles time, and deliuered from hande

to

to hands to vs, either elles so perplex and doubtful, as the
aduersarie will for his heresie bring not onely as many, but
mo textes also, that shall seme to make for his purpose then
shall the catholike, as did the Arrian: then shoulde I saye the
heretike in a mens iudgement (although neuer in his owne)
easily be discomforted and ouerthrowen. For then let the
Anabaptiste crye as muche as he wolde, that the baptisme
of infantes hath no grounde of scripture, the meanest
man in a parish would be able to tell him: Sir, the church
whiche I am bidden to give eare to by the scripture, vseth
it, and hath done from the beginning: this sufficeth me.
Againe let the Arrian bring and heape together all the
scripture that he hath; let him vse all his shiftes, distinc-
tions, and gloses: when he hath all done, the true catholike
seketh after the interpretation of the church, that inter-
pretation to witte, that the membres agreeing with the he-
ads obserue and haue obserued vniuersally thorough out
the whole worlde. Thus if the more parte of men would
doe, (as they ought) neither would heretikes haue any list
to publishe heresies, their starting holes being by this who-
lesome remedie taken awaye: neither shoulde they being
brought furth into the light be habile any while to conti-
nue. And this call I the ouerthrowing of heretikes and her-
esies. For to perswade an indurde heretike by anye meanes,
I confesse it to be a thing impossible: seeing that not euerye
man that is a true Christian, can by conference of the scrip-
ture be by and by perswaded in all doubtles, as you here vn-
truly saye he maye. When partes be taken in opinions a-
mongest learned men, each parte forcing the scriptures
by conference and otherwise to make for that sense which
he hath conceived, is no man a true Christian but he that
can be satisfied in this case by the scripture. Hath it not bene
sense

A DISPROUVE OF M. NOWELL

sene that the maintainers of suche contrary opinions, beinge for vertue and learning esteemed of the worlde, haue made also right good Christians to doubt? And what case had Christe lefte vs in, if in this perplexitie there were not a church to directe vs, if that church had not a heade to speake to vs, which being in S. Augustine and Prosper's tyme Zozimus the Pope as you hearde before, shewe vs now if you can, why Pius the pope shoulde not be the lyke? And thus you see M. Nowell (I truste) that you haue to muche abused bothe the Readers and me, in labouring, firste to perswade that I mislike the Scriptures (whiche I doe in no sence) or the conference thereof (whiche I doe not simply, but in this respecte that you contend that that waye alone is sufficient to ende all controuersies): nexte in this, that you alre my reason, whiche is, that because by this pretended conference of youres heresies can neuer be overthrowen, while by the subtiltye of heretikes alleaging scripture, conferring scripture, and that so probably that even the best learned maye be shaken in their faith, and so heresie mainteined, you make the same reason to be, because there can no waye possibly be founde able to satisfie all stowarde heretikes. Vppon this supposall of youres, that I reiect this conference of scripture as no sufficient meane to ende all controuersies because it can not satisfie al men, you aske this question.

Prosper lib.
contra Col.
last. cap.
10.

Nowell.
b. 6.
Holdeth
man a
bowle for
he will
vomire.

And thinketh he, that Popes of Rome, men of suche lyfe, suche partialitie, suche ignorance, such vntruth, such falschode, such bribery, Simoniacke, poisonners, murderers, that satisfie all men, in all iudgements of all causes and controuersies, yea in their owne verry causes wherein they be parties, and that without all exception? The diuell they shall and that I may saye truly.

Dorman.

Non loqueris sed latras, you speake not here M. Nowell
but

but you barcke, you reason not but you raile. If all these faultes that you here heape together were in one pope at one time, yea should they not be all any let why the same might not and should not, giue true iudgement and satisfie all good men. To this I haue answered before where yow gaue me like occasion, thither I remit the reader. Yea this I woulde faine knowe of yowe by the waie, and desire yow when yow wright nexte to resolue me therein, whether if these popes had the contraries to these vices, that is so manie vertues, yowe thinke they might giue true iudgement and satisfie all men. If yow saie they could not, what neded then this odious reherfall of so manie grievous faultes, seing by no meanes they coulede? If yowe saie that being good men they might, then shewe scripture, or bring reason to proue, that this auctoritie is lost by euill manners? In controuersies rising vpon the scripture, the popes cause is not handled but gods, and therefore they be no parties thereto. Whereas yowe promise so largely on the diuelles behalfe, yow maie be bolde for as muche as he is hable to doe, he is at youre commaundement.

To youre conclusion, that the worde of God is the true iudge in all controuersies and doubtles of religion, I saie (as I saide before) that when the church hath giuen sentence of the meaning and right vnderstanding of the scripture, that then in that sense and no otherwise, the scripture is the true iudge in all controuersies: otherwise I saie that the worde of God lieng yea in the letre as it were in the huske, is an vncerteine iudge to determine controuersies, what so euer Luther, Caluin or their adherentes, the rest of that blacke garde do saye to the contrarie, or be M. Nowell neuer so angry therewith.

Whereas I declared before what starting holes the Ar-

Z z

rians

cap. 3. fol.
8. b. or 10
fol. 39. b.

B. 13.

Fol. 105. a.
23.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

Cap. 11.
sub. finem.

M. Nowell con-
trarie to
him selfe,
or a des-
perate he-
retike and
papist by
his owne
confessio.

rians, Anabaptistes, Lutherans, Calvinistes, and other he-
retikes haue founde out for the mainteinaunce of their re-
ligion, and that vpon the same groundes and principles,
any desperate heretike that is, maie mainteine anye here-
sie: yow take occasion of that worde (*desperate heretike*) to
reherce once againe a place of S. Cyprian, where he cal-
leth by the same name (yowe saie) all suche as thinke o-
ne bishop inferiour to an other (as I and all other papi-
stes doe) but the contrarie to that I haue showed before.
And surely to thinke thus if it be to be a desperate heretike
or a papist either: I praeie yowe what be yowe M. Nowell,
that in youre booke fol. 32. a. confesse that in euerie prouin-
ce, there be certeine chiefe prelates? Doeth not the worde
chiefe import that there be other inferiour prelates? Which
worde if yow will nowe reuoke againe, if youre bishop
will not, I trust youre pretended Archebishop will call yow
to account for it. That whiche foloweth fol. 105. b. and. 106. a. because it
conteineth but vaine wordes, and hathe bene in diuerse o-
ther places handled, I will here passe ouer?

Of the place of S. Hierome taken out of
his epistle to Damasus, and that it
hathe bene alleaged to the
purpose, without wre-
sting or falsi-
fing.

The 28. chapter.

PROSECUTING this controuerfie, whether the scrip-
ture as we haue it written, were hable alone without o-
ther meanes to determine all controuerfies, the whiche
the heretike seeth being proued that it can not, it will nedes
folowe that there must be some other iudge to supplie that
office:

office: I saide, that S. Hierome notwithstanding his greate and excellent knowledge in the tongues, would not take vpon him to leane in the discussing of doubttes to that rule of theirs, to laie and confer together one texte with another, but referred him selfe to the see of Rome &c. whose example I exhorted also other to folowe. To this M. Nowell answereth as foloweth.

S. Hierome saith no where that he would not compare the scripture together for the discussing of doubttes (as M. Dorman would beare vs in hande) and S. Austen saith he would doe it, and exhorterh other to doe the same.

Where doe I beare yowe in hande that S. Hierome saide that he would not not compare the scriptures together for the discussing of doubttes? Why noted you not here the lease and side? I denie not but that it is a necessarie and verie profitable waie of reading the scriptures to conferre the places together. And so doubtte I not but that S. Hierome aswell as S. Augustine vsed to doe. The whiche maketh verie muche for the Catholique opinion, that all questions can not be discussed by thys conference off scripture. For iff they coude, what neded S. Hierome (so well learned as he was) in this controuersie betweene the Catholikes and the Arrians, to write so far out of the wil-drenes of Syria to *Damasus* the pope, a man allthough singularly well learned, yea not comparable with him for learning, to be resolued at his monthe what parte to take, whereas he had with him the scriptures of God, by the whiche (by youre saing) if he had diligently conferred them together, he might haue bene fully instructed in al pointes? What ment he elles that he vsed not nowe his accustomed manner of conference, but that he sawe that this was a question that coude not so be tried, and therefore he would con-

Nowell.

fol. 106. a.
23.

Dorman.

A lye. 31.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

sulte *Damasus*, who being he perswaded him selfe the successor of Peter, shoulde be able sufficiently by the grace giuen to that office, to resolue him in that, which by all his owne labour and diligence he were not at all, or not so soone and certainly, hable to finde out.

Nowell.

S. Hieromes wordes to *Damasus* Bilhop of Rome make nothing against vs, nor with M. Dorman. For what merueile is it, if that S. Hierome borne in a coast of Italy, christened at Rome, brought vp at Rome, and made prieste at Rome, woulde in the faithe of the blessed Trinitie, rather ioyne him selfe in communion with *Damasus* bilhop of Rome a learned and godly mā, then with Vitalis and Meletius (whome M. Dorman calleth Miletus) and Paulinus, who were Antiochia bishoppes, and therefore strangers to him, and also not cleere from the Arrian heresie?

Dorman.
The place
of S. Hierome
borne to
Damasus
Tom. 2. c.
pist. ad
Damasum
examined.
Lib. de ec-
clesiasticis
scriptorib.

That you reporte of S. Hierome that he was borne in a coast of Italie, it is vntrue. For he was as he writeth him selfe, borne in a towne called *Stridon* in the borders of *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*: whereas Italie it is well knowen neuer reached so farre, or if it had, neuer did the peculier province of the bilhop of Rome extendethither, for whiche respect *Damasus* might be accounted his bishhop. But supposing this to be as true as the rest, that he was Christened at Rome &c. Yeat the causes whiche S. Hierome addeth why he ioyned him selfe to him rather then to anie other, maie euidently make faithe, that neither because he was borne in a coaste of Italie, neither because he was christened; brought vp, or made prieste in Rome, but because he was the successor of Peter, he ioyned him selfe to hym in communion, rather then to anie other. For that ment he by these wordes *Beatitudinitus, id est cathedra Petri, communionem confocior*. To youre holinesse, that is to saye, to Peters chaire, am I ioyned in communion. Tell vs if you can what there neded here anie mention of Peters chaire to be made, but

de, but that he woulde declare therby the only respect of his communicating with him to be, because he was the successour of Peter. An other cause, which yet might trulier be called a cause or reason of the first cause, why he ioyned him selfe to him that sat in Peters chaire, your selfe woulde seme to haue founde out in these wordes folowing.

But (will M. Dorman saye) S. Hierome addeth a cause (whiche is the pyth of the matter) saying thus. *Super illam petram edificationem ecclesiam scio. I knowe that vpon that rocke (Peters chaire) the church is builded, which is the cause why S. Hierome ioyned with Damasus, will he saye.*

Nowell.
fol. 307. a
10.

Will you see what a perillous brained man M. Nowell is? He hath readen my answer allready, and can tell what it shall be before I vtter it the seconde time. But you must giue him leaue sometimes to scoure his Rhetorike lest it wax rusty, and therefore here vpon a brauery he setteth a lusty countenance vpon the matter, and that which he knoweth can not be passed ouer in silence, because it hath bene moued allready, he will so bring furthe the seconde time, as though suche a pore catholike as I am, had not had suche an obiection in store, without I had first receiued it by his liberalitie euen as it were in the waye of almes. Yeat this I can not but mislike, that as sone as he had giuen it, it someth that he wished that he had kepte it in his purse still, for it foloweth.

Dorman.

But he maye be ashamed, had he anie shame at all thus shamefully by a false Parenthesis to intremingle these wordes (Peters chaire) in this sentence of S. Hierome, and so to falsifie it, as though S. Hierome had saide or ment in this place, that the popes chaire is the rocke whereon the church is builded.

Nowell.
14.

Well these be but wordes M. Nowell, how prone yow that this is a false Parenthesis, that S. Hierome ment not that the popes chaire (as it is S. Peters chaire) is the rocke whereon the church is builded. Your reasons to proue it folowe

Dorman.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

after that you haue charged me withe mangling of the sentence of S. Hierome, in this wise.

Nowell.
b. 10.

fol. 103. a.

For he did see, that S. Hierome admonishing Damasus of humilitie, and withall professing him selfe to folowe no chiefe or heade but Christe, not excepting Damasus case, but rather affirming him not to be *primum*, the chiefe, maketh cleerely with vs, who in this controuersie of the popes vsurped supremacy saie the same &c. furthermore he did see, that the wordes of S. Hierome folowing (*upon this rocke I knowe the church to be builded*) might and ought to be referred to Christe mentioned by S. Hierome so nere before, and by Petre confessed to be that rocke whereon the church is builded, and therefore M. Dorman left out of S. Hieromes sentence the mention of Christe, that he might moste falsely and blasphemously refer the rocke to Peters chaire, as though Peters rotten chaire or ruinouse Rome were the rocke whereon the church of oure Sauoure Christe is builded.

Dorman.

M. No-
well falsi-
fies S.
Hierome
in transla-
ting.

He is con-
trary to
him selfe.

Your proufes that this *Parenthesis* is false contained in these wordes, are two. First because Hierome professed him selfe to folowe no chiefe or heade but Christe, not excepting *Damasus*: nexte because these wordes (*Vpon this rocke I knowe the church to be builded*) ought to be referred to Christe &c. as before. To the firste I answered, that you haue not delt honestlie and sincerely in translating the wordes *nullum primum*, no chiefe or heade: as though S. Hierome had bene of that opinion, that he woulde professe him selfe to folow no other heade in earthe vnder Christe, whiche if it had bene so: howe agreeth this with youre owne wordes in this place, that *Damasus* was S. Hieromes owne bishoppe? If he were his bishop, he was his chiefe or heade. If he were his heade, you will not I trust make him to mende youre owne cause, a rebellious membre. One of these two will folowe, that either S. Hierome (if youre translation were true, condemneth all heades in earthe but onelye Christe

Christe, or that he will obeye them as far as he list him selfe. Is not this sincere handling trowe you of the fathers writings? Is not this wholesom doctrine that you woulde make them to be patrones of? But I praie you that translate this worde *nullum primum*, so diuersly, three maner of waies in little more then the cōpasse of one leafe, first interpreting it, no chiefe or heade fol. 107. b. 5. lyne, then in the same side. 15. no chiefe heade, Last of all fol. 108. b. 21. no heade: tel vs when you write nexte, to whiche of these interpretations you will stande. For the second interpretation a man might graunte to you, and without preiudice to vs or gaine to you. For it is true in dede that in respecte of Christ there is no absolute chiefe heade but he: the pope is but chiefe and supreme heade nexte vnder Christe. Although this were not in this place the meaning of S. Hierome, but only to signifie, that nexte after Christe he ioyned him selfe to Peters chaire, and that he folowed *nullum primum nisi Christum*, none first but Christ, as muche to saie, as Christ first, and Damasus of all other next after.

Youre nexte proufe that the worde (*rocke*) shoulde be referred to Christe and not to Peters chaire, because Christe is mentioned so nere before, and by Petre confessed to be that rocke whereon the church is builded, leaneth to a verie fickle and weake ground, and maketh me to thinke, that at the leaste you nodded M. Nowell if you slepte not downe right when you wrote this. For if you take the booke waking into youre hande once againe, you shall (I dare assure you) finde, that the worde (*Peters chaire*) is nearer to the worde rocke then is Christe, so that by youre owne argument and reason it foloweth, that the worde (*rocke*) shoulde be referred to Peters chaire placed so neare before. Whereas you saye that Petre confessed Christe to be that rocke

whc.

M. Nowell
ouer
throwen
by his
owne
reason.

A DISPROVE OF M.

whereon the church is builded, where hath the Petre those wordes? Note the place in your nexte writing, elles will it be thought that you make and coine scripture at your pleasure. We denye not notwithstanding but that Christe is the rocke whereon the church is builded, although in Sainte Petre those words be not so to be found. Yea foloweth that not that therefore Peters chaire or Petre (for bothe is here taken for one) is not also the rocke whereon it is builded. For Christe is *Fundamentum primum & maximum*, the chiefe and greatest foundation (as witnesseth S. Augustine reconciling together these places of the scripture, *no man can laye an other foundation then that which is layed which is Christe Iesus*, and this: *Builded vpon the foundation of the Apostles and prophetes*) and Petre is also a foundation, nexte after Christe. As to make the matter plaine by example: if a man woulde builde a house vpon a rocke, that rocke were the chiefe and principall foundation, for it hath the soliditie and strength of it selfe not of an other, yea all this notwithstanding, the firste stone of this building that shoulde be laide vpon the rocke, were also the foundation, but not as having soliditie or strength of it selfe, but of that other perfect foundation wherunto it leaneth. To this alluded Saint Ambrose when in a certeine place he calleth Petre *firmissima petra*, the moste strong rocke, *que ab illa principali petra communionem & virtutis sumsit & nominis*, which tooke from that principall rocke (he meaneth Christe) communion bothe of vertue and name. What can be saide more plainely to expresse that Petre is called a rocke as well as Christe? to confirme this distinction of rockes or foundations?

Having nowe detected the vanitie of your prouffes whereby you laboure to proue that this place of S. Hierom should

In psalm.
86.
1. Cor. 3.
Ephes. 2.

How
Christ is
the rocke
and howe
Peter.

Lib. 3. de
vocat. gē.
cap. 9.

shoulde be falsified by me: I will confirme the catholike doctrine in this point, and shewe that this *Parentesis* added by me for the better vnderstanding of the place, was trulie added. And because yowe complaine of me for leauing out two lynes, I will proue not onelie by them, but by the preamble of the epistle, that S. Hierome wrote not to *Damasus* as to his owne bishop, but to him as heade of the church, and successour to *Petre*.

In the two lines that yow saie I cut of, are these wordes: *cum successore piscatoris & discipulo crucis loquor*, with the successour of the fissher (*Peter*) and a disciple of the crosse I speake. Of these wordes I make this argument: S. Hierome wrote to *Damasus* as to the successor of S. *Peter*. But S. *Petre* was acknowledged by S. Hierome to be heade of the church, therefore S. Hierome wrote vnto him as heade of the church. The minor proposition is proued by S. Hierome writing vpon the 13. Psalme, where expounding these wordes: *Non est qui faciat bonum &c.* he (saith he) not *Petre* him selfe, which is heade of the church. Againe in another place where he saith: *Canaculum grande ecclesia magna est, in qua narratur nomen domini strata varietate virtutum & linguarum, ut est illud: circumamicta varietate, in qua paratur domino Pascha. Dominus domus Petrus apostolus est: cui dominus domum suam credidit, ut sit vna fides sub vno pastore.* That is to saie: The greate parler is the greate church, in the which is preached the name of oure Lorde, garnished with varietie of giftes and tongues, according to the saing: *Clothed with change of apparell: in the whiche is prepared our Lordes passcouer.* The maister of the house is *Petre* the apostle, to whome oure Lorde committed his house, that there maie be one faith vnder one shepheard. The consequent of this argument is proued to be good by this reason of S.

Hieron. in
Psal. 139

In asp.
Marc. 14.

psal. 44.

Note this
reason.

A DISPROVE OF M.

Hieromes, why God appointed S. Petre to be the ruler of the church. For seing we muste nowe aswell auoide multitudes of faithe as the church was bounde in S. Petres time to doe, there must as necessarilie be nowe one heade as there was then, whiche no man can iustly doubt whether S. Hierome ment that *Damasus* shoulde be, seing he confesseth that *Damasus* is Petres successour, who was by his confession that one heade. And that it maie the better appeare that this was in S. Hieromes time the faithe of the church, that as Petre was heade therof so were also his successours; S. Ambrose living with S. Hierome, calleth this verie *Damasus* ruler of gods house the church, whome I woulde not alleage but trie out S. Hieromes meaning by him selfe, were it not that yow might see how vniformely they agree in this point, Hierome calling Petre the maister: Ambrose calling *Damasus* his successour, the ruler of goddes house the church. Moreouer, that in calling Peter heade of the church and *Damasus* his successour, S. Hierome called *Damasus* also heade of the church, is proued by this, that S. Hierome in this place protesting that he was ioyned to *Damasus* in communion, expoundeth him selfe, *id est cathedra Petri*, that is to saie to the chaire of Petre. Thus did S. Cyprian in his time describing the bishoprike of Rome by these wordes *Locus Fabiani*, Fabians place, expounde by and by his meaning in this wise: *id est locus Petri, & gradus cathedre sacerdotalis*, that is to saie, Petres place and the degree of the priestely chaire. If therefore the popes that succede S. Peter haue the same place, the same chaire, that is to saie the same auctoritie (for this worde chaire signifieth nothing elles) that S. Petre had: who doubteth but that S. Hierom in this place acknowledging him selfe to speake to Petres successour, did agnise also the same auctorite in him, that

In 1. 71.
moib. 3.

15. 4.
epist. 1.

that he did in S. Petre?

Next after this, weigh I beseeche yow the preamble of this epistle of S. Hierome to Damasus, vttered in these wordes. *Quoniam vetusto Oriens inter se populorum furore collisus. &c.* Because the Easte being sore broosed and shaken with the olde furie of the people emongest them selues, teareth pece meale the whole and seamelesse coate of oure Lorde, and the foxes destroye Christes vineiarde, so that emongest the leaking pities that haue no water, it is harde to vnderstande where is that sealed founteine and walled garden: therefore I thought that Petres chaire and the faiche praised by the Apostles owne mouthe, ought to be consulted by me, from thence nowe asking foode for my soule, from whence once I receiued Christes lyuory. Thus far S. Hierome. By which wordes we maie vnderstande, that he wrote this epistle to Damasus, as to him that being successour to Petre was heade of the church, and therefore in all doubtfull cases to be consulted, not as to his owne propre bishop. For if he had, why shoulde he then haue mentioned Petres chaire, which worde because S. Peter was heade of the whole church (as hath bene proued out of S. Hierome) argueth a rule ouer the whole, not of a particuler place alone? If nowe S. Hierome were not afearde to saie, that he ioyned him selfe in communion to Petres chaire, that in this doubtfull case he thought that that chaire was to be consulted, why take yowe the matter so wholy against me, for saing with S. Hierome that the church is builded vpon Petres chaire? Why call you this more blasphemie then the other, to be ioyned in communion to Petres chaire, to consult Petres chaire? Is it vnlikely that S. Hierome shoulde saie that Petres chaire was the rocke whereon the church was builded, to the whiche chaire he sought for counsell, to the which he protested to be ioyned in the same

Rom. 1.

A DISPROVE OF M.

communion? Or is it likely, that he woulde haue so saide of anie chaire, saue that on the which the church was builded? I can not here but note by the waie how to make the matter seme odious to the vnlearned, you vse termes like youre selfe against this chaire of S. Petre, minding as I take it, to perswade that I shoulde drawe S. Hieromes wordes to suche a meaning, as that he shoulde meane that Christes church were builded vpon a materiall chaire. You maye be ashamed M. Nowel where you lacke iust matter, to blotte paper and waste incke with suche cauilling trifles as euerie man that hath common sense wil as sone as they haue passed once youre mouthe, be hable to discouer and reprove. Dothe not S. Hierome in this place make twise expresse mention of Petres chaire? Why triumphe you not ouer him as you crowe against me, with youre foolishhe and vnfauory Rhetorike, and saie that he was well occupied to write from *Siria* to Rome for counsell from a rotten chaire? that he was a wise man to ioyne him selfe in communion thereto? Who seeth not that yow woulde haue taken the matter as whotly with S. Hierome as you doe with me (hauing as good cause altogether) sauing that yow feared the burning of youre lippes? I saie therefore M. Nowell that S. Hierome (to answere you in this pointe if you were so verie a dolt that you vnderstode it not before) by building the church vpon Petres chaire, meaneth euen as he did in those two places before, where you can not denie but that he maketh expresse mention of that chaire. Sainte Hierome meaneth there no materiall chaire, and therefore no rotten chaire, as you like a rotten membre and deuised from the church blasphemously saie. He meaneth as Christe doeth in the ghospell speaking of Moises chaire, as the fathers, Cipriā, Epiphanius, Austen, Ambrose, Optatus, and

What
S. Hiero-
me ment
by Peters
chayre.

Mat. 23

and the rest doe, as often as they vse this worde, that is to saie by the chayre, the power and bishoplike auctoritie which Peter hauing giue to him, committed to his successors. For euē as a riuier though it runne manie thousandes of miles, leeleth not yeat but reteineth neuerthelesse the name of the founteine and heade spring from whence it came: so fareth it in the succession of bishoppes, that how many so euer there be that succede, yeat they are all saide to possesse the chaire of him that ruled first: yea although euerie of them had made for him selfe a newe chaire. For the matter consisteth not as I saide before in materiall chaires, no more then doth the opening or shutting of heauen gates depende vpon materiall keyes. And as well might you like a Lucianist, or a Porphyrian haue scoffed at Christe for saing that the scribes and Phariseis sate vpon Moises chaire (which if they had had emōgest them, if euer Moises sate in anie, should at that time haue bene as rotten. as is S. Petres nowe, there being betwene Moises and S. Petre not manie fewer yeares then are nowe betwene S. Petre and oure time) or for making keyes for heauen, as yow doe against me. But to let this passe and to exaggerate no furdur that, for the which at the handes of suche as be of the learnede and wiser sorte, you are like to susteine punishment enough by incurring the note of this infamie to be no learned reasoner, but a railing wrangler: I will nowe as compendiously as maie be iustifie the inserting of this *Parentthesis* (*Peters chaire*).

First these wordes (*vpon this rocke I knowe the church to be builded*) ought to be referred rather as youre selfe before confessed (and in this case if in anie you ought to be beleued, for you haue bene a scholemaister and practised better in the gramer rules then in the scriptures and fathers writings) to the wordes that go nearest before: but the wor-

A DISPROVE OF M.

2. des (*Peters chaire*) are placed nearest before. Therefore by your owne confession, the building of the church ought to be referred thither. Againe, S. Hierome in this place it is to be presumed, alluded in these wordes (*I knowe the church to be buylded on that rocke*) to the wordes of the gospell: *Mat. 16. es petrus & super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam*. Thow arte Petre and vpon this rocke wil I builde my church. But in that place Christe appointed an other foundation of the church beside him selfe to wit Peter: It foloweth therefore that S. Hierome in this place ment not of Christ but of Peters chaire, that is, Peters auctoritie or Peter him selfe.
3. Thirdly it is more then probable, that sainte Hierome met not in this place of building the church vpon Christe only, but vpon Petre also nexte after Christe, because to him that with iudgement wil reade the epistle, confidre duly the circumstances, especially the beginning, it shal appeare that his whole talcke is so framed, that whereas of purpose and directly he maketh mention of consulting Peters chaire, off ioyning him selfe to Peters chaire, and in that whole discourse of his setteth furthe the praises of the church off Rome: he speaketh of Christe but incidently, and as it were by the waie of a *parenthesis*, and that toe, to auance the dignitie of the See of Rome, as before the which he woulde preferre (he saide) none but Christe. The whiche being so, what sounde iudgement will not rather refer these wordes aboute whiche the controuersie is, to that whiche is principally and directly handled, rather then to that which is mentioned but incidently and indirectly. Last of all, it is to be iudged, that S. Hierome agreeth here with his owne writinges in other places. Nowe is this euident, that euen the thirde epistle before thys, he saith in plaine wordes that the church was builded vpon Petre. His wordes are
- 4.

are: *Apostolus Petrus super quem Dominus fundavit ecclesiam.* Petre the Apostle vpon whom ourlorde founded his church.

Tom. 2.
epist ad
Marcell.

Thus you see good Readers I trust, howe falselye and withoute all cause, M. Nowell hath quarelled with me for this *parenthesis*, added only to make more plaine the wordes of Saint Hierome. It foloweth that I shewe to you howe he prosecuteth his purposed malice by the auctorities of Erasmus, and S. Augustine, in the 108. 109. and 110. leaues.

Erasmus (saith M. Nowell) cleane contrarye to all papistes, saith in his notes vpon these wordes: *Super illam petram, &c. Non super Romam ut arbitror, &c.* That is to saie. Vpon that rocke, not vpon Rome I trowe, &c.

Nowell.
fol. 108. a.
18.

From Erasmus thus farre we dissent not, that we knowe as well as he, that the church was not built vpon Rome. For if Rome were sacked (as God forbid) to morowe nexte, the church should continue neuerthelesse, although the bishop went from thence and shoulde sit at the meanest towne in all Italye, or elles where. As for that that he would haue the church to be builded by S. Hieromes meaning vpon Peters faith: that first he affirmeth not confidently, but saith he troweth so: next, it maye be saide, that in this place Erasmus telleth his owne opinion: in the other place off this epistle vpon these wordes *Extra hanc domum* without this house, he confesseth the minde of S. Hierome, whiche he saith was vtterly that all churches ought to be vnder the Romaine See, or no strangers from it. If Erasmus in his interpretation before, saing that the church was not as he thought builded vpon Rome, but vpon the faith of Petre, agree with S. Hierome in this pointe that all churches be subject to the Romaine See: howe happeneth it that you
and

Dorman.

and youre fellowes, to withdrawe all men from this subiection to that See, make that principle that the church was builded not vpon Rome but vpon Petres his faith, your chiefe ground, seing that in Erasmus iudgement bothe might stande well inoughe together? Iff on the contrarye parte this interpretation made by Erasmus can not agree with the minde of Saint Hierome: Why shoulde we rather credite Erasmus not sure off his owne opinion, then S. Hierome confidently affirming the contrarye?

Nowell.
fol. 108. b.
1.

Yea and funder the same Erasmus in the beginning of his argument vpon his treatye against the Luciferians, whiche is nexte to his two epistles to Damasus, hathe these wordes: *Nulla heresis grauius afflixit, &c.* No heresie hathe more grieuously afflicted the churches of all the worlde, then the Arrians: in so muche that it hathe wrapped in the bishoppes of Rome, and the emperours them selues. It pleaseth M. Dorman sometime to alleage Erasmus against vs, whose auctoritie if it be good, downe goeth the pope and all popery. For if the bishoppes of Rome haue bene infected with heresie, then is not there that vniuersall rocke.

Dorman.

As good men as Erasmus and better to haue sustained the contrary, that there was neuer bishoppe of Rome heretike. But if there had, it foloweth not thereof, that there is not that vniuersall rocke. Let that be the answer till I come to youre question, What if the Pope be an heretike?

Nowell.
b. 16.

Nowe if M. Dorman did not see these notes of Erasmus vpon the place by him alleaged out of S. Hierome, I praise his diligence, he maye of Dorman be called Dormitantius, as S. Hierome (whome he falsely alleageth) called Vigilantius, and more iustlye bothe by nature and sounde of name may M. Dorman be so called, then euer was Vigilantius by S. Hierome, &c.

Dorman.

I sawe them and vnderstode them it appeareth, better then you. Reade S. Hierome *contra Vigilantium ad Exuperantium*

rinm, and then see who is likely by S. Hieromes minde to be called *Dormitantiu*: you, who with that drowfy sleeping heretike raile against the tapers and lightes in the church, the worshipping of sainctes, the reuerent keping of their blessed relikes, or I, who with saint Hierome mainteine the contrary. But I thinke euen for that cause a little thinge woulde make yow to call S. Hierome *Dormitantiu* to, for it appeareth that it pleased yow neuer a deale, that he shoulde so roughly handle youre deare frinde, and therefore yow prefer youre allusion to my name, before that of his to the name of *Vigilantiu*. But I woulde counsell yow M. No—well either to gette yow some new trym name, such as is Theodore Basile or some suche like, or elles to leaue scoffing at other till this that yow haue conteining nothing well in it, maie be mended. Because yowe perceiued that Erasmus either made little for youre purpose, or that his auctoritie woulde not be muche set by, yow saie.

But if Erasmus iudgement be nothing worthe &c. I will year in Christes quarell, that he is the rocke and not Petres rotten chaire, bring furthe one witnes not onelie greater then Erasmus but also equall with S. Hierome, and aboue all papistes in credite and auctoritie: S. Austen in his 13. sermon vpon the ghospell off Mathew.

Yow fight with your owne shadowe M. Nowell, when yow imagine to encountre with anie matche that shoulde offre Christe wrong. No man denieth to Christe that excellencie to be the rocke of his church: yow maie therefore put vp youre dagger, the fraie was donne before it begonne. But yeat hereof it foloweth not, that therefore Petres chaire, that is to saie Peter, is not also a fundation in Christe the first and greatest fundation, as a little before I showed. To the auctoritie of S. Austen I answere, that euen as

B b b

yours

Nowell.
B. 16.Dorman.
Fol. 109.
a. 1.

A DISPROVE OF M.

Lib. 1. Re-
tractat. cap.
21.

An impu-
dent lye.
made vpo
12. S. Au-
sten B. 18.

youre other witnesse that yowe brought before, Erasmus, durst in this case affirme nothing boldely, but only shewed his minde doubtfully: so is S. Austen in this question as it appeareth in his worckes, not fully resolved. For in his first booke of Retractions (where yow saie most impudently that he repeateth and mainteineth moste earnestlie this interpretation that Christe and not Petre is the rocke) he proposing both the interpretations, that Peter is the rocke (as he confessed that the same sense he had botho him selfe giuen in writing against Donatus, and was song in his time by the mouthe of manye in the verses of S. Ambrose, where speaking of the cocke, he saith: *Hoc ipsa petra ecclesia canente, culpam diluit*, at the singing of this cocke the rocke of the church him selfe, purged his faulte): he proposing I saie this sense, and also that other, that Christ is that rocke, concludeth in this wise: *Harum autem duarum sententiarum que sit probabilior eligat lector*. Of these tywo opinions let the reader chosse that whiche he thinketh moste probable. Is this M. Nowell to defende moste earnestly that Christe and not Petre is the rocke, to sett men at libertie to beleue in this pointe as they list? Is this the *candor*, the sincere and vp-right dealing that yowe speake so muche of? But if yowe will yeat by no meanes graunte that S. Austen doubted of this pointe, if he were resolved on anie parte, I will proue by alleaging diuerse places against this one of yowes, that he thought as we doe, and not with yow.

August.
Serm. de
cubedra. 5.
Petri

First in a sermon that he made of *Petres chaire*, he hath these wordes: *Petrus itaq; fundamentum ecclesie dominus nominauit, et ideo digne fundamentum hoc ecclesia colit, supra quod ecclesiastici edificij altitudo cõsurgit*. That is to saie, Our Lord therefore named Petre the fundation of the church, and for that cause dothe the church worthily worship this fundation,
vpon

vpon the whiche the heigth of the ecclesiasticall building
rileth.

Againe in an other place, speaking of the firste miracle
that S. Petre did in restoring to a lame man the vse of his
feete, he writeth thus. *Audistis frequenter ipsum Petrum a
domino petram nuncupatum, sicut ait: Tu es Petrus & super
hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam. Si ergo Petrus petra est
supra quam edificatur ecclesia, recte prius pedes sanat, ut sicut
in ecclesia fidei fundamentum continet, ita & in homine membro-
rum fundamenta confirmet.* That is to saie. Yow haue hearde
often times that Petre him selfe is called by oure Lorde a
rocke, as where he saith: *Thow arte Peter and vpon this rocke
will I builde my churche.* If therefore Petre be the rocke v-
pon the whiche the churche is builded, he did well, firste
to heale the feete, that as in the churche he containeth the
foundation of faithe: so he shoulde in this man strengthen
the foundations of his membres. I might here alleage diuerse
other places of S. Austen to this sense, but these two he-
re vouched, and that other whiche he mentioneth him sel-
fe in his Retractions, to be in his writings against Do-
natus, maie be sufficient to teache, that if he thought not
fullie of this point as we doe, (as by these three places for
one brought by yow it should seme he did) he was yeat in-
different and not against vs.

But what if S. Austen had bene moste earnestlie against
vs? Yeat could you not so presse vs with his auctoritie M.
Nowell, by being greater then Erasmus, equall with S. Hierome,
aboue all papistes in credite and auctoritie, that he should be abo-
ue, Clement, Tertullian, Ciprian, Basile, Hilarius, Ambrose,
Hierome, Cirill, Leo: who all with one voice agree in this
interpretation that the church was founded vpon Petre.
Clement saith of him, *that by the merite of true faithe, he was*

Sermou. de
Sanct. 26.

113.3.

Matth. 16.

At in
Psalms. 30.
& alijs
multis locis.

Epist. 10.
ad 16.
col. fran-
co. do-
mini.

A DISPROVE OF M.

b Lib. de
pra-
scrip.
heres.

d Lib. 2.
aduers.
Eunoni.
e In cap.
Math. 16.

f Sermon
47.

g Lib. 2. in
Iohannem
cap. 12.
Serm. 3. in
Annun-
tiationis
sue ad
pontifica-
tum.

Note
how
Christe is
the rocke,
and how
Petre.

determined to be the fundacion of the church. Tertullian af-
keth whether any thing could be hidden from Petre, called the
rocke of the church to be builded. Sainte Cyprian libro. 1. epist.
12. libro. 4. epist. 9. Lib. de habit. virgin. Lib. de bono pat. epist. ad
Iubaian. and epist. ad Quintum: in all these places affirmeth,
that the church was builded vpon Petre. S. Basile because
that Petre excelled in faith to ke therfore (he saith) the building
of the church vpon him. Hilarie the B. of Poictiers in Fraunce
calleth Petre *Felix ecclesie fundamentum*, the happy funda-
tion of the church. S. Ambrose hath that Petre was called
of Christe, *ecclesiarum petra* the rocke of churches. S. Hiero-
me amongst manie other places, expounding the verie
wordes of Christe. *Thow art Petre, &c.* Math. 16. giueth this
sense: *Aedificabo ecclesiam meam super te*. I will builde my
church vpon the. Ciril saith that Christe in the giuing to Pe-
tre his newe name, signified therby that in him as in a rocke and
moste strong stone he would builde his church. Leo (to make
an ende) bringeth in Christe speaking of Petre after this
sorte. *Ego tibi dico: hoc est, sicut pater meus tibi manifestauit di-
uinitatem meam, ita & ego tibi notam facio excellentiam tuam.*
*Quia tu es Petrus: id est, quum ego sim inuolabilis petra, ego la-
pis angularis qui facio vtraque vnum: tamen & tu quoque pe-
tra es, quia mea virtutis solidaris, ut quae mihi potestate suae pro-
pria, tibi sint mecum participatione communia, & super hanc pe-
tram aedificabo ecclesiam meam &c.* that is to saye: I tell the, as
my father hath made manifest to the his diuinitie, so doe I
declare to the thy excellencie, that thow arte Petre: that is
to saie, whereas I am the inuolable rocke and corner stone
which make bothe one, the fundacion beside the whiche no
man can laye anie other: yea arte thow also a rocke becau-
se by my strength thow arte made founde and malsiff, that
those thinges which are propre to my selfe by power, maye
be

be common betwene vs by participation; and vpon this rocke will I builde my church.

You haue hearde M. Nowell for one place brought by you out of S. Austen to confirme youre purpose, three other euen taken from the same man to the contrarie. Yow haue hearde that in that verie booke where wih the better iudgement he ouerloketh and correcteth all his former doinges, he maketh it a matter indifferent to thinke either the one waye, or the other. Last of all you haue hearde the iudgemēt of nyne of the moste learned fathers in Christes church agreing all in one sentence against you. Go youre waies nowe and boaste of S. Austen being against all these fathers and him selfe. to if he shoulde be of the minde that you would haue him to be. I trust you shall neuer be hable to bring the wise or learned in to such a fooles paradise, as to make them leauing the whole consent of so manie learned doctours, to folowe youre interpretation grounded vpon one, not muche liking the same him selfe.

You gather of this place of S. Austen an argument against religiousse men. You moued it before, and there the reader shall finde it answered. Yeat this to saye of the Augustiniās (of whome warily you forbare to make anie mention before) the reason that you make here why they shoulde not be of S. Augustines institution, is false and vnttrue. For neither the Dominicans bearing the name of S. Dominike, nor the Franciscanes of sainte Frauncis, neither yet these Augustinians of sainte Augustine, doe beare these names in suche sorte, as the Corinthians did claime to holde of suche as baptised them. How they did it appeareth by these wordes of sainte Austen here in this place by you alleaged: *Apostolus autē Paulus ubi cognouit se eligi et Christum contemni, diuisus est inquit Christus?* The Apostle Paule when

In his
bookes
of Retrac
tations.

fol. 110. b.
17.

A DISPROVE OF M.

he perceiued that he was chosen and Christe contemned; why saith he is Christe diuided? In this wise M. Nowell because the Augustinians neither builde vpon sainte Austen, nor are called after his name, there is no cause yet shewed why they maie not be well enough of his institution, as that they are, Richardus Cenomanus in his learned censure vpon sainte Austens rule, hathe againste Erasmus moste evidently proued.

A. 14.

As for youre other witnessses that you can ioine to Erasmus, that popes haue bene heretikes, if that could be proued by a hundred witnessses, yet till you be habie to proue that they had erred in defining anye matter iudicially, and deliuering the same to the whole church of Christe, yowe haue proued nothing against this See that there is not the rocke.

Nowell.
b. 17.

With like fraude did M. Dorman leaue also that, whiche nexte foloweth in S. Hierome of the house, without the whiche he that eateth the paschall lambe is a prophane or vnholy man: and the arke of Noe, withoute the whiche all that be, perishe by the floude. For though in that place it might seeme to make for M. Dormans purpose concerning the supremacy of the B. of Rome (as Erasmus hathe noted) yet he knowing or some man warning him, that the house withoute the whiche the paschall lambe maye not be eaten, the arke, &c. by all doctours is interprete to be the one vniuersall church of Christe, and by none to be the church of Rome, therefore like a wise man, or elles a false fox, he let that folowing alone also, as he cut of Christe the heade going and ioyned nexte before, and so he hathe tolde you a tale bothe withoute heade and tayle, thereby to proue the pope who is Antichrist, to be the heade of Christes church.

Dorman.

Is not this M. Nowell more then intollerable impudencie, to charge me with fraude for the leauing out of that sentence, then which there is none either in the workes of S. Hierome him selfe, or anie of the other learned doctours, that more maketh for the dignitie of the see of Rome, for the

the omitting whereof in my booke, I deserued rather to be noted at the catholikes handes of ouermuche simplicitie, then at youres of fraude and sutteltye? But howe truly here let the place it selfe iudge. Omitting Erasmus whose iudgement nowe you condemne (which yeat in me might haue bene counted some pointe of leuitie, if I had euer praised him as you did before, to be no vnskillfull or negligent viewer of the olde fathers writings) I will come to the place it selfe, whiche I doubt not but by construing (for I truste although you care not muche for the rules of the church you owe yeat for olde acquaintaunces youre reuerence to the rules of Grammer) to make bothe you and other men to vnderstand also how much this place maketh for me, and howe little cause I had to suppress it, and howe muche yet lesse you had to make anye mention of it. Saint Hieromes wordes therefore concerning this matter are these. *Ego nullum primum, nisi Christum sequens, beatitudinem tuam id est, cathedra Petri, communionis confocior. Super illam petram edificatam ecclesiam scio. Quicumque extra hanc domum agnum comederit, prophanus est.* Nowe let vs construe M. Nowell. *Ego I, sequens* folowing, *nullum primum*, none first, *nisi Christum* but Christ, *confocior* am ioyned *communionis* in communion, *beatitudinem tue*, to thy holynesse, *id est*, that is to saie, *cathedra Petri* to the chaire of Peter. *Super illa petra*, vpo that rocke (what rocke M. Nowel, but the same chaire of Peter to the whiche he professed him selfe to be ioyned in communion going nexte before these wordes: *scio I knowe, ecclesiam* the church, *edificatam* to be builded. *Quicumque* who so euer, *comederit* shall eate, *agnum* the lambe, *extra hanc domum* out of this house, *prophanus est* is prophane. Now these wordes being truly by me thus construed, euerye man learned and vnlearned maye see, that S. Hierome by the
house

A DISPROVVE OF M.

house which he here mentioneth, ment Christes vni-
 uersall church, but builded *Super illam petram*, vpon that
 rocke, which rocke in the wordes nexte before he called
 Petres chaire, to saie Petres auctoritie. If you can construe
 them otherwise, and make them to haue any other relation
 then this and proue it by the rulers of Gramer, you maye
 vaunt that you haue showed vs a scholemasters tricke that
 neuer was harde of yeat. But I am halfe in dispare that you
 shall euer be able, seing that youre frinde Erasmus as
 good a Grammarian as you, and as euill in a maner affe-
 cted to the See of Rome, as appeareth in diuerse places by
 his notes and censures, coulde finde no suche shifte, and
 therefore was faine as you muste at the length, to confesse
 the truthe, that S. Hierome was of the minde that all church-
 es shoulde be subiecte to the church of Rome, or at the
 least no strangers from it. Nowe whereas you saye that
 this house that S. Hierome mentioneth, is of none interpre-
 te to be the church of Rome: what were that to oure pur-
 pose if it were so, seing it is interprete of the vniuersall
 church, which is of all the auncient fathers acknowl-
 edged to be builded vpon Peters chaire as S. Hierome saith
 here, and (as hath bene declared before) S. Cyprian, who
 calleth the church of Rome for that cause *catholica fidei
 radicem & matricem*, the rocke and mother church of the
 catholike church. Yeat lacke there not also fathers that
 in a sense, that is, as in the church of Rome all other church-
 es are contained, call it also by the name of the catholike
 church. As in effect S. Ambrose did, when he called Da-
 masus the pope, ruler of the whole church, which he coul-
 de by no meanes be, but as he was bishop of Rome. Thus
 muche maie serue for my purgation that I haue not delt
 fraudulently in leauing out this parte of S. Hieromes sen-
 tence,

Lib. 4.
 epist. 8.

In commēt.
 in cap. 3.
 1. Tim.

tence. Nowe let vs procede.

Yow make much adoe about Vitalis and Meletius, and saie, that I saie vnturlye that S. Hierome saith he knoweth not them because they were aduersaries to the seate of Rome, the cause being, because they were aduersaries to the true doctrine of the moste blessed Trinitie, whiche Damasus did defende.

Nowell.
fo. 111. a. 1.

I reporte me to the learned, whether I had cause to saie so or no, not because of these wordes (*who so euer gathereth not with the scattred*) alone, which might perhappes be trulie spoken to anie other catholike bishop: but because of the circumstances that go before ioyned to these, as the consulting of Petres chaire, the ioyning of him selfe thereto in communion. To the whiche because they did not ioine them selues as he did, he refused them. If yow had spoken no more vnturlye then I, yowe woulde not to colour the matter the better, haue imagined, that emongest other causes why S. Hierome kepte not these schismatikes companie, one was, because they were foriners and not his owne bishoppes: an other, for that they were of a strange language. Ah M. Nowell did yow nodde here, that yowe coulde not see that S. Hierome affirmeth, that he *folowed the Aegyptian confessors the bishop of Rome folowe bishoppes?* Were not they as muche foriners to him as were *Vitalis and Meletius?* was not their language as strange? Yeat yow vpon this, desire the reader to note, that S. Hierome woulde not knowe Vitalis and Meletius because they were foriners not his owne bishoppes, &c. And so make a comparison betwene youre refusall of the pope, and S. Hieromes refusall of these schismatikes, laing for a ground without anye proufe, that the pope is a foriner and hathe nothing to doe with yow.

Dormar.

B. 35.

Ccc OF

A DISPROVVE OF M.

Of the place of S. Austen taken out of
the 110. question of his questions
vpon the olde and newe
testament.

The 29. chapter.

H E R E M. Nowell vpon the censure of Erasmus of this
worcke of S. Austens, maketh this shorthe but sharpe con-
clusion against me. So that it were to muche impudency for
anie man but only M. Dorman, to alleage it for S. Augustines.

Nowell.
fo. 112. a.
30.
Dorman.

Beholde I praie the good Reader in what credite Eras-
mus is nowe sodenly with M. Nowell, whome before no-
ting S. Hierome to be of the minde that all churches shoul-
de be subiect to the See of Rome, he esteemed so little. Then
he was no body, nowe hauing wonne M. Nowelles fa-
uour againe, he is so extolled, that to denie that whiche he
shall affirme, or contrarywise, is extreme impudency, so
greate a matter is it to be in his good grace. But I praie you
M. Nowell in what case then are those shamefull, shamefast
and modest maisters I woulde haue saide, the compilers of
youre Apologie, who notwithstanding his iudgement v-
pon S. Austens *libri Hypognosticon*, haue yeat with to much
impudency for anie man but onelye for them, alleaged
them against purgatory? What case are yow in youre selfe,
who notwithstandinge Erasmus iudgement vpon that
worcke taken for Chrysostomes vpon the ghospell of S.
Mathewe, were not ashamed as modest as yow woulde se-
me to be, to alleage it against vs? I will not be so malapert
as to compare withe youre Apologie, but surely me thin-
keth of reason, I might as well vse anie thing in this worcke
of S. Austens as yow in that of Chrysostome. If the diffe-
rence betwene oure two cases be, that yowe handle the
matter

*Opus im-
perfectum.*

matter rhetorically, calling the auctor an auncient auctor printed with the Chrysostome, and of longe time taken for him, whereas I giuing no suche credite nor reuerence neither to Erasmus iudgemente of the true or countrefeite writings of the olde doctours, like a plaine blunt felowe alleage the place as I finde it: I will sone mende that faulte if it be one, and by imitation faie as yow doe, an auncient auctor printed with the S. Augustin and of long time taken for him. And now what saie yow to this auncient auctor?

First yow saie, that the greatest parte of these wordes alleaged by me, be not to be founde in the place by me noted.

I graunte, nor it is not necessary: for I doe not so alleage the place as though enerie worde shoulde be there. I doe allude only to S. Austens wordes. It is enough that there is there sufficient to proue youre chaire, a chaire of pestilence, and youre bodie, a bodie without a heade. Make of it then a tronck, or what yowe list elles. For the better declaration herof, I will reporte here the wordes of S. Austen, or rather this auncient auctor (that I misse not my termes) printed with the S. Austen and of longe time taken for him: whiche are these: *Quoniam cathedram pestilentia non esse dei ordinatione asseuerauimus, etiam eorum qui extra ecclesiam, vel contra ecclesiam sedes sibi instituerunt, cathedram pestilentia esse dicimus. Qui enim inconcessa præsumpsit, reus est, quanto magis si & corrumpat traditionem eius cuius sedem usurpat? Nam & ordinem ab Apostolo Petro ceptum, & usque ad hoc tempus per traducem succedentium episcoporum seruatum perturbant, ordinem sibi sine origine vendicantes, hoc est corpus sine capite profitentes: unde congruit etiam eorum sedem cathedram pestilentia appellare.* That is to saye: foras moche as we affirmed that the chaire of pestilence was not of gods ordinaunce, euen their chaire

Nowell.

Dormant

August. in
quest. veter.
& noui test.
q. 110.

*These
wordes
M. No-
well tras-
lated fal-
sely thus:
wherefore
it is agree-
ble their
seate also
to appeare,
so be the
chaire of
pestilence.

also we call the chaire of pestilence, who haue made them selues sees without or against the church. For he that presumeth vpon that which he ought not, is guilty: how much more if he also corrupte the tradition of him whose seate he vsurpeth? For they trouble the ordre begonne of Petre the Apostle, and kepte to this time by the continuance of bishoppes succeding, chalenging to them selues ordre without beginning, that is to saye, professing a bodie without a heade. *Wherefore it is agreeable to call their seate also the chaire of pestilence. Hetherto S. Austen or &c? Of whose wordes I reason thus: who so euer make them selues sees against the church or out of the church whiche hath continuall succession of bishoppes from S. Peter, sit in the chaire of pestilence: But oure counterfeite bishoppes of England doe so: ergo, their chaire is the chaire of pestilence. The *maior* is proued by this auncient auctor: the *minor* also by him, because they trouble the ordre begonne of Petre, and continued by the succession of bishoppes to their time. They trouble this ordre, because they chalenge to them selues ordre without beginning, as they who deriue it not from S. Petre the chiefe rocke after Christe, and are a bodie without a heade. The which thing if you denie, M. Nowell the let vs loke to the ordre begonne of Petre. what was that? Let S. Cyprian tel you, who in his booke *de simplicitate praelatorũ* or rather *De vnitatis ecclesie*, witnesseth, that God by his auctoritie disposed the beginning of vnitie to begin of one, that was Petre. If this were the ordre begonne of Petre, who seeth not who be the troublers of this ordre? We, that for vnities sake admitte but one chiefe heade bishop vnder Christe, and no other but suche as be deriued from him, or yow that will haue manie heades without suche ordinary deriuation? Hath not this ordre bene kepte in the church euer since by

ce by the continuance of bishoppes without interruption till youre unhappy time? Peruse if you list the ordre in oure church of England of the bishoppes of Cauntorburie for example, beginning at william Warham, the last catholike bishop (before heresie founde first entreinment there) and so ascende by degrees till you come to sainte Austen oure English Apostle. In all this succession (the space of almoste a thousande yeares) this ordre hath bene continued in Englande: so that you are not able to shewe for youre liues, anie one of all those bishoppes that continued not this ordre begonne of S. Petre. Nowe staye not here, but from S. Austen the first bishoppe of Cauntorburie, go to him from whence he receiued that ordre, to Gregory the bishop of Rome, from Gregory to *Pelagius*, from him to *Benedictus*, and so in ordre to S. Petre: and name if you can one of them in whom this ordre was not keppe? This being most true, where began nowe your ordre? Who was the auctor thereof but frier Luther? From whom conueighed he this ordre but from Sathan the father of all disordre, and lorde of all misrule? If it be not so proue the contrary. If you doe not disturbe the ordre begonne of S. Petre, then acknowledge one heade bishop ouer the reast, and kicke not against Gods ordonaunce, who hath so disposed, that the vnitie of the church shoulde begin of one, that is of Petre. Confesse that the cause during still, why (as saith saint Hierome) sainte Peter was made ruler of the church: *ut sub vno pastore sit vna fides*; that vndre one shopherd there maie be one faith: that the same remedie ought to continue also, that is, that there be one heade. But to this will you by no meanes be brought, and therefore I maie iustly conclude that you are those headlesse bishoppes, that sitte in these pestilēt chaires, making to youre selues seates out of the church and a-

In cap.
Marci. 14.

A DISPROVE OF M.

gainst the church by troubling the ordre begonne by sainte Petre, as bothe this auncient auctor saith here, and Optatus moste evidently in his worckes against the Donatistes doing the like.

Lib. 1.

Nowell.
fol. 112.

But against this you reason and saie, that we must first proue oure selues to be the true church of Christe, which we shall neuer be hable to doe, being in deede the Sinagog of Antichrist.

Dorman.

We will not proue it M. Nowell, but will make you and youre companions to proue it for vs in spite of your beards, be you neuer so lothe. For when being asked where youre church in the which you make youre ministres and bishoppes was but fifty yeares ago, you shall not be hable to answer, youre verie silence shall speake for vs, seing that a church Christe must haue allwaies, which because it could not be youres that was no where, it must be that of whiche we are, that was allwaies and euery where.

Nowell.
fol. 113.
A. 1.

Your nexte refuge is to this, that these wordes (*whose seate he vsurpeth*), seme to proue that the auctor here, noted some Antipope, which hath bene no noueltie for these 3. or 4. hundred yeares to haue two or three popes at once: And so some writer in fauour of him by like, that was chosen and kepte residence at Rome, hath written this against some other that vsurped Petres seate &c.

Dorman.

It is happy M. Nowell, that this is but a bare surmise of youres leaning to no sure foundation, but confirmed by a pore by Like. As for the wordes (*whose seate he vsurpeth*) they make nothing for youre Antipope, but haue relation to such the false bishoppes as being heretikes or schismatikes, corrupt the traditiō of catholike bishoppes whose seates they vsurpe, by making warre with the church, and chalenging to be of the ordre of bishoppes, and of the bodye of Christes church, whereas of their bishoppes they can shewe no beginning, and of their bodye they will haue no heade. You can not here

here saye, that because they were oute of the church thys
 auncient auctor called them a body without Christe their
 heade. For althoughe that be true. Yea the wordes that go
 next before: *They trouble the ordre begonne of Peter, &c. cha-*
llenging to them selues an ordre withoute beginning, that is to saie,
professing a body without a heade, argue an other heade then
 Christe, whose auctoritie of being heade of his church, de-
 pended not vpon Petre you wote well, but contraryewise
 Peters vpon his. Whereas you restraine this place to be
 ment, against some false pope intruding him selfe into the
 bishoprike of Rome, you doe the auctor greate wronge,
 who as the learned will easely espye, speaketh here general-
 ly of all suche bishoppes, as make them selues sees out off
 the church or against the church. You might if it had
 pleased you haue gessed nearer, if you had saide that he had
 noted the false Donatist bishoppes, who making them sel-
 ues sees against the church, professed a bodye withoute a
 heade as you doe. As appeareth by Optatus liuing in the
 same time and writing of their bishoppes in this wise. *Igi-*
tur quia Claudianns Luciano, Lucianus Macrobio, Macro-
bis Encolpio, Encolpius Bonifacio, Bonifacius Victori succes-
fisse videntur: si Victori diceretur, vbi sederit, nec ante se aliquem
illic fuisse monstraret, nec cathedram aliquā nisi pestilentie osten-
deret, that is to saie. Therefore because Claudianus seemeth
 to haue succeeded Lucianus, Lucianus Macrobius, Macro-
 bius Encolpius, Encolpius Bonifacius, Bonifacius Victor:
 if one shoulde aske Victor to whome he succeeded, neither
 coulde he name any before him, nor shewe any other chai-
 re then the chaire of pestilence. That to colour the better
 this fond fantasy of youres, you saie it hath bene no nouel-
 tie for these 3. or 400. yeares, to haue 2. or 3. popes at once,
 as though some late writer were the auctor of this worcke,

Optatus
 lib. 2. de
 Schismat.
 Donatist.

A DISPROVE OF M.

it is a most miserable shifte, seing that bothe there be store of olde writtē copies not vnwritten these 500. yeares, where this worcke is to be founde in the name of S. Augustine, and therefore can this place by no meanes (excepte yowe would haue it written by prophecie before the thing were done) be vnderstande of anie suche schismaticall pope, and againe, if it be not S. Augustins, it is yet more ancient, for as muche as the auctor thereof, counteth but 300. yeares from the comming of Christe, to his time.

Questio.
44.

Nowell.
210.

Howe so euer it be, the matter can not be applied to vs, who doe not vsurpe Peters chaire. Further what worde is there here to proue the chaire of Rome, to be the heade of the vniuersall church, &c.

Dorman.

You trouble the ordre begonne of Petre, whiche is enough to proue youre chaire the chaire of pestilence. For that I noted you of, althoughe by taking vpon you that whiche belongeth to that chaire, you vsurps his chaire also. These wordes (*the ordre begonne of Petre*) include the auctorite of the See of Rome, that ordre being first begonne in Peter that he was the heade of the reste, as hath bene declared, and so are you answered to youre demaunde, what word there is here to proue the chaire of Rome to be the heade of the vniuersall church.

Nowell.

To procede, we hauing Christe to be oure heade, our church is no deade troncke, as lacking an heade: and hauing him oure heade onely, and other his ministres oure gouernours vnder him, oure church is no lyue monstre as hauing manye heades: no more then oure common wealth hauing God the onely heade in heauen, oure prince his seruant oure heade gouernour in earthe, is therefore a liue monstre: or the whole worlde hauing God to his heade is therefore a deade troncke, because it hath no one onely earthly heade, nor can haue anye suche: no more can the vniuersall church thorough oute the whole worlde, haue anye suche one earthly heade, &c. and so maye he conclude that God and Christe the authors of lyfe be no heades or no suche heades
as can

as can saue the bodies whereof they be heades, from being deade tronckes, excepte the saide bodies haue a false vsurper from Rome to be their heade beside, and to giue them life.

You twang here M. Nowell ypon that olde false string that euer iarreth and neuer is in tune. For as I haue euer tolde you so often as you made mention of this comparison betwene the state of the worlde and the church (which hath bene in this Realme of youres verie often) that betwene the gouernment of the church and the whole worlde there is greate cause to doe I nowe answere you againe. But you will saie, that I am the auctor of this comparison my selfe, who reason, that the church must haue one heade, becaule kingdomes, countries, cities, be so best gouerned. It is my reason (I confesse) that enery thing that is one is best gouerned by one. And therefore the worlde it selfe, were for vs that liue in the same best gouerned by one chiefe heade vnder Christe; if for the paine of oure sinnes God had not disposed the same to be gouerned by manie. Which when you saie to be a thing impossible bothe in the church and in the world, you speake as you are wont without anie proufe, muche to the derogation of goddes omnipotency. Nowe to come to youre comparison: see I praie yow whether if God had appointed all the kingdomes in the worlde to be one, as he hath all the churches to be one (for he came into the worlde, *ut disper sos congregaret in unum*, to gather the disper sed together) it shoulde not be also a deade troncke if it lacked a visible heade to make it one. Your similitude betwene the church and oure common wealthe, is made betwene Christe heade of the church onely, a multitude of ministers gouernours of the same vnder him, and the common wealthe hauing God the heade in heauen, and one prince, his seruant and heade gouernour

D d d in earthe.

Dorman.

Psal. 146.

in earthe. This comparison maketh not onely not withe
yow, but verie muche also against yow. First it maketh not
with yow, because yow supposing the church to be one
bodye and Christe the onely heade thereof, allowe to the
church manie vndreheades, whereas in the common
wealth being also one bodye and the other parte of the
comparison, there is mention but of one heade vndre Chri-
ste, the prince him selfe. So that it clepeth to infer, that
the church having an infinite nombre of heades beinge
but one bodye, is no monstre, because the common wealth
having but one visible heade like to it selfe is no monstre:
it is a monstrouse conclusion, more meete to procede from
a blocke that hath no sence, or a monstre that hath ma-
nye heades but wit in none of them, then from a creature
endowed with reason. It maketh against yowe thus: the
common wealth where be manie heades and euery one
will gouerne, is a monstrouse bodye: but the church is
Christes common wealth, and hath as yowe saie, manie
heades to gouerne it: therefore it is a monstre. Againe: The
common wealth that because Christe is the onely heade
thereof in heauen will admit no other chiefe heade in ear-
the, is a blocke. But so doeth youre church: therefore it is
a blocke or deade troncke.

As for the conclusions that yowe saie I maie make,
that God and Christe be no heades or no suche heades, &c.
and againe, that as well all kingdomes, and common weal-
thes in Christendom be like monstres as having many heades &c.
In dede I must needs confesse a muche, God hath giuen
me fre will, and I shal abuse it if I list, and make as manie
foolish conclusions as yow haue done. But I trust yowe
will not deale with me as yow ruffled before with the pore
Franciscanes and those of the company of Iesus, to conclu-

de that I will saie so because I maie saie so if I list to plaie the foole. Nowe to these conclusions I saie, that trulie I cannot so conclude, the first of them following no better, then if yow M. Nowell would conclude, that God and Christe the authors of all true doctrine can not instruct men (if it so pleased them) in all wholesome knowledge without the externall helpe of man, because they doe this by men. For euen as God vseth the ministry of men to teache and preache, not as though he coule not so doe without, for our infirmities sake, and because it pleased the diuine wisdom that Christe the seconde persone in Trinitie should not be allwaies visibly present with vs: for the same cause hath it pleased allmightie God, to gouerne the membres of his church, by the meanes of one visible heade the B. of Rome. The folie of youre seconde conclusion appeareth I doubte not, by the difference that is, betwene all the churches of the world, which make all but one, and the kingdomes which be diuerse and were neuer appointed to be one.

And had M. Dorman had so muche leasure from his diuinitie matters, as to haue looked better vpon his notes of the canon lawe, his peculier studie, he would haue bene better aduised then to haue called vs *Acephalos* headlesse, and therefore deade trunckes, who doe obeie oure owne prelates, seing *Acephali* (as is there noted) are those who be subiecte to no prelate.

Nowell.

And had M. Nowell had so muche witte to haue looked first vpon the texte and then vpon the glose from whence he borrowed this note, he would haue bene better aduised then to haue alleaged it of all other for their defence. For by the texte it appeareth, that those whome the glose there calleth *Acephali*, had heades, *quos ministros seu custodes vel gardianos aut nominibus alijs appellant* whome they cal ministres, kepars, wardens or by other names.

Dorman

D d d 2

then

then call them headlesse? *quia sub nullius veri prelati obedientia existunt*, because they are vnder the obedience of no true prelate. This is the reason of the glose. But yea let vs aske an other question: why were they vnder the obediēce of no true prelate? Because their heades were not allowed by the pope. This is the reason of the texte. You must not be angry with me M. Nowel for charging you as I doe with the canō law. For you bogge me in my peculier studie (as you saie), and you seme to haue cōcerned greate trust vpo this place, which maketh me the bolder and earnest to. With the texte and the glose agreeth reason: for if your head that standeth now vpon your shoulders, should sodenly be turned in to the heade of an Ass, he should not saye amisse that for all the long eares, shoulde saye you were headlesse, not for that that you had no heade at all suche a one as it were, but in this respect that you had no suche heade as you shoulde haue, no suche heade as a preacher shoulde looke out of a pulpite withal. To come nowe nearer to the common case of you all, and to exemplifie it by some of youre lignage that haue gone before you: were the subiectes of Nouatus trowe you that false bishop, *Acephali* without a heade, when forsaking *Cornelius* the B. of Rome, they obeyed him? If they were, you are. For youre case is like, your bishoppes being no more truly bishoppes then Nouatus was, nor altogether so truly neither. For he was made bishop by two bishoppes lafully made by the pope, whereas you were made by the commission, *currebant & ego non miscebam*. Nowe seing the canon lawe helpeth you not, yea seing it maketh directly against you, as the whiche accounteth them headlesse that appointe heades to them selfe without the popes approbation, seing at the lawes of the realme you finde as I heare saie as little grace: seing that by the scriptures you are condemned for running not being sent,

sent, what remaineth but to saye, that the obeing of your I-doll bishoppes can not excuse you from being headlesse?

All this a doe hathe M. Dorman made nowe by the space of more then three leaues to deface scripture as no fitte iudge in controuersies, and to perswade vs that the pope like an other Pithagoras, by his only bare worde maie and ought to satisfie all men, heretikes, and others, and that it shalbe sufficient for him only to saye, without reason of scripture why he so saith, sauing this reason only, *pope est pro ratione voluntas* with the pope will standeth for reason, as is mentioned in the booke of his owne canon lawe &c.

Not to deface the scripture M. Nowel haue I made al this a doe (there you belye me) but to deface heretikes, while by this meanes it shall not be laufull for the to peruert and corrupte it with their false and vntrue expositions. The places that you bring out of the canon lawe, to proue that it is sufficient for the pope to saye without reason of scripture why he so saith, are two: but in neither of those places is that which you saye. The first place speaketh of certeine priuileges which the pope for causes and considerations will not haue extended to monasteries and churches after a certeine time. Here saith the glose vpon this place, that the popes will in this case standeth for reason. Againe in the seconde place which is not there where you falsely note it here in the margent to be, but in the title *de sententia excommunicat. cap. si summus pontifex*, of the pope absolving one excommunicate it saith as muche, but no where in the popes lawe is this odious saing of youres founde. Loke therfore better bothe vpon the texte and the glose, and learne to vnderstande them before you bring them nexte.

An answer to .8. demaundes made by M.

Nowell touching the pope.

Ddd. 3

The

Nowell.
fol. 114. a.
1.
Clem. li. 3.
Tit. 13. de
exco. cap.
cum sit &
lib. 9. de
verb. sig.
Tit. 10.
ca. 1. En
frequentib.
Dorman.

A DISPROVE OF M.

The 30. Chapitre.

Nowell.

THE FIRST: what if there be two or three popes at once? Is it not to be doubted which of them shall be this certaine iudge in cōtrouerfies? And is not the popish church in this case, in daunger to be a liue monstre as hauing manie heades?

Dorman.

If there shoulde be so manie popes at once, as truly popes, as you professe to haue of your church manie heades at once, then should the church be, not only in daunger but in deede, a liue monstre, as youre schismaticall church is. But whereas in truthe there is but one laufull pope, it is in no suche daunger as yow fantasy, nor if there were ten that pretended euery of them right to the papacy. If any suche chaunce happen, we knowe it chaunceth by Goddes permission, who as he hath hether to so guided his church, that when the like hath happened, it neuer sustained thereby anie detriment in faithe: so are we by his promise assured who promised neuer to forsake his church, that he will in no wise permitte in this doubtfull time anye such cōtrouerfie to be moued, as that maye not withoute the detriment of his church, remaine in suspense vntil suche time as God haue reuealed the right iudge and true pope.

Nowell.

b. 15.

2.

What if there be neuer a pope at all? Shall all oure doubtles lye therewhile vndiscussed for lacke of a iudge, and youre popishe church so longe (two or three yeares together) lye as a dead troncke for lacke of an heade?

Dorman.

If your doubtles be suche as the vsage of the church, the consent of all nations, be not able to explicate, then is there no other remedie but by praier to desire allmightye God, to kepe from vs no longre this necessarie meane appointed by him in earthe to signifie to vs his holye will and pleasure. The church is not in the meane season a de-
ade

ade troncke, no more then one of youre particuler churches is when the bishop dieth. For euen as there (although not in all thinges) the Chapitre supplieth the lacke of the bishop in many: so the See of Rome being voide by deathe, hathe a graue Senate, that supplieth, although not in defining of controuerfies, yeat in manie thinges, that want of the heade. I trust when the generall heade of the church of England in earthe dieth, you will not call your church a deade troncke.

VWhat if the pope sitte not at Rome in Italie? May we not doubt of the certeintie of the iudge, nor sitting in the chaire whereof he hath all his certeintie?

Nowell.
3.

The pope hathe not his certeintie of Peters materiall chaire, but of the auctoritie and power giuen to Petre, the signe whereof the chaire is. And therefore you nede not to trouble youre selfe with that care: whether he sitte in the verry same chaire that Petre did or in some other, whether he sit at Auinion in Fraunce, or Toletum in Spaine, he is allwaies bishoppe of Rome, and successour to Petre. And as we saie, where the kinge is there is the courte: so where the pope sitteth there is Peters chaire, to saie Petres auctoritie.

Dorman.

VWhat if he doe erre? VWhat if he be an heretike?

Nowell.
4.5.

The pope maye haue his priuate and personall errours, it can not be denied. God onely and not man is priuileaged that he can not so erre. But in determining any matter of faithe, or deliuering any doctrine to the whole church, he that is the chiefe heade of his church, will neuer suffer him so to erre. And therefore I saie with S. Augustine that his misdoinges doe not preiudice the church. If it would please you M. Nowell to become scholer to those that you call

Dorman.

August.
lib. 165.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

Lib. 4. ec-
cles. hic-
rarch. cap.
8. Lib. 2.
contra
Brent. fo-
lio. 83. &
sequent.

call my maisters (as for anie greate learning that you haue shoven in this Reproufe of youres it might befeeme you well enough) *Pighius* and *Hosius*, in them shoulde you learne, that all youre companions be not hable to conuince so muche as one pope emongest so manie as haue bene, to be an heretike. But let that be as doubtfull, as this is moste certeine, that there was neuer yeat anye pope that gave in any matter of faithe an hereticall sentence. And therefore you are much to blame to conceiue of Goddes providence for his church any such dispaire, not being hable for all the time past to shewe so muche as one example of that whiche you captiously demaunde.

Nowell.
fol. 115. a. 2
6.

Dorman.

What if his election be vncerteine or vnlawfull? Multe yeat be the moste certeine and onely iudge?

If the election be not laulful, it giueth to the elected person no right.

Nowell.
7:

Dorman.

What if we haue a shee pope, suche as was pope Ioane otherwise Iohn the eight?

What if that be a lye, and to be founde in no storye of worthy credite? If suche a chaunce should yeat happen, then were there no pope, but for the time the See vacant.

Nowell.
8.

Dorman.

What if the popes successours doe disanull, their predecessours popes decrees, &c?

In matters pertainig to thinges indifferent it maye so chaunce, time and place so requiring: but in faiche and doctrine deliuered to the whole church, that any such change or alteration hath happened you are not able to shewe, nor euer shall, and therefore you might haue kepte this what if with the rest in youre purse.

Thus are these doubttes of youres answered M. Nowell, and so shall I trust the other great manie mo that you threaten me withall, which you looked for belike at the writing here-

hereof to come shortly from Franckeforde martir.

The pope is not iudge in his owne cause. The cause is gods and the churches. So I tolde yow before. A. 19.

Yow make muche a doe to proue that the scriptures are the waye of truthe, iudgementes: yea and iudgementes off truthe, whiche no man denieth. For it hath bene allwaies graunted vnto yow, that the scriptures containe all truthe in them sufficient to confirme all true doctrine, and to ouerthrowe the contrarie, when by the voice of the church they are interpreted and made manifest. When we harken to the popes interpretation of scripture, we acknowledge and so ought all true catholikes that we heare the holy gost speaking by his mouthe, in which case we saie that the credite whiche we giue to his sentence, is not giuen to him as he is a man but to gods worde, whereby we are taught that the thing whiche mannes nature could not obtaine, Christe God and man obtained for Peter the first pope of Rome, that is that his faith should not faile, and so consequently for all that shoulde after him succede in the gouernement of the church. And so is youre texte answered: *God is true but euery man is a lier*. Or elles we could not be assured of that which the prophetes and Apostles teache vs.

Of the title, heade of the church of England, giuen to oure late souereigne

Kinge Henry the 8.

The 31. Chapter.

I ASKED here, by occasion of that foolish reason of your Apologie: Christ is heade of the church: *arg.* it hath or needeth no other, how it happened then, that youre companions gaue to kinge Henry the 8. the title of heade of the church fo. 26. a. b.

Ecc

church

churche of Englande, and yow youre selues to oure moste
gratiouse lady his daughter; the same also in effecte. To
this yow saies:

Nowell. 1.
b. 7.

If it will please yow to resorte to the recordes of the 22. and 24.
yeares of King Henry the 8. there shall yow finde who they were
that first offered this title to the saide King: there shall yow finde
that all Abbottes, and other religious, all the bishoppes, Deanes,
Archdeacons and cleargie of both the houses of the conuocation
then living gaue him that title. To the latter question of the
Quenes maiestie; to that yowe will shortly answere yowe
saie, but presently yow doe not.

Dorman.

When yow haue ranfacked all the recordes, and saide all
that yow can, to make the Catholikes oure forefathers
partakers withe yow of this facte: year is this moste surelie
recorded in all miennes remembraunce, that all Catholikes
ioyned not with yow, and those that did, were folowers
and no leaders, consented to that title which was required
and offered it not of their owne motion. The first authors
that put that wicked deuise in to the kinges moste noble
heade, were not the catholikes but heretikes, and the scho-
lers of Luther, suche as were Cromwell, Cranmere, and
other. I speake not this notwithstanding to excuse them
who confesse their owne faultes, and are moste sorie and
penitent therefore. This was a case wherein we maie saie
withe oure forefathers: *peccauimus, iniuste egimus, iniquita-
tem fecimus*: We haue sinned, we haue done vniustly, we
haue committed iniquitie. But what is all this to the pur-
pose? What if the catholikes did amisse withe yow as they
did, how can yowe answere this, standing in youre wicked
opinion still, that a particuler church maie haue one heade,
gouernour vnder Christe in earthe, and the whole maie
not? To that yow saie.

I Truste

Truste, the reason is not to seeke in the good readers memorie, seeing it hath bene so ofte declared before, yet will I answer M. Dormans question by an other question.

Nowell.
fo. 117. a.
22.

Yow burden varie fore the readers memorie to remembre that which hether to yowe neuer vtured. Yow are not wont to be so dangerous (I reporte me to the reader) to repeate one thing diuerse times, but there was good cause that yow shoulde here doe as yow did, to wit, because yow are not hable (standing in strength the argument of youre Apologie) to giue anie reason, why the church of one particuler realme, hauing two prouinces, two archebishops, and vndre them aboue 20. bishops, whereof Christe is as muche the heade as of the whole church, shoulde more haue an other heade beside Christ ouer all these particuler heades, then all the particuler heades of Christes vniuersall church shoulde haue an other heade beside Christe ouer them. Yeat I knowe yowe meane that reason of yours, whiche being so foolish, so wicked and blasphemous, that one man is not hable to rule and gouerne (vndre Christ) the whole church alone, yow haue so often repeated, hating no other shift of descant, that euen yow are compelled to yow now at the last, to wrappe and inuolue in silence. As for the answer that yowe make by a question: Why one kingdome maye haue in earth vnder God one head, and the whole world can not to that I saie, that it is a false proposition, that the whole worlde can not haue one onely head in earth vndre God, often in this youre Reproue stoutly affirmed, but neuer as yeat proued. To this answer I ioync also the seconde, that the questions be not like. But then you saie:

Dorman.

If M. Dorman saie the questions be not like, I aske with what face he can so saie, seeing that in the beginning of this his treatise, he brought the example of ciuile gouernement, in the whiche euery

Nowell.
b. 1.

kingdome hath his king, euerie countrie, citie, and companie haue their feuerall gouernours &c. to proue that the church ought likewise to haue one head.

Dorman,

I acknowledge this example, and dare further make you M. Nowell youre selfe the iudge; whether these questions of yours and mine be lyke. I compare one kingdome to the whole church which is also one, and therein resteth the strength and force of my exāple: I make no comparison betwene all kingdomes of the worlde whiche be manie, and all churches which are but one, as you doe here deceauing your selfe and other toe. For if I shoulde so haue done, then had not the comparison bene good. Nowe if it were as true that God had ordeined all the kingdomes of the worlde to make one kingdome and not manie; as he hath all the churches to be one and not manie: then if you denied to all these kingdomes ioyned in one, a visible king to be aboue all the rest, and to gouerne the whole, because god is the Monarche and ruler of all, as you doe to the vniuersall church for the same cause; I woulde saie that you offendid as muche therein, not allowing to all these kingdomes being but one, one heade and chiefe gouernour, as you shoulde doe if you woulde graunte to particular kingdomes no particular king: the reason being as greate why the whole shoulde haue one ruler ouer it, as why anie particular membre shoulde. But nowe I can not so saie, because God hath appointed no suche ordre in the worlde, as he hath in his kingdome the church; and therefore the questions be not lyke.

From this you runne as one that feared to tarie to long, to gesse what we woulde saie if the time serued vs, and here on Gods name you tel vs a long tale of the popes rule ouer all the worlde in temporalities, and of king Iohn, as muche to the

to the purpose as if you had tolde vs of Robin hood, and therefore I passe it ouer, with youre other reasons that folowe, made to bolster vp, the rotten reason of youre Apologie, because they haue bene so often answered by shewing the difference betweene the two states of the worlde and the church.

fo. 118. b.

The answer to the conclusion.

The 31. chapter.

Now it followeth M. Nowelles conclusion, wherein drawing nere to the ende, and knowing how weakely the matter hath bene handled by him in the whole processe of his booke before he thinketh by a certaine lusty brauery of wordes to make amendes, and so to beare awaye the garlande. But nowe let vs here howe he bestureth him.

Thus I trust good Readers you see the insufficiency, or more truly the lewdnesse of M. Dormans prouises of the necessitie of one only heade ouer Christes whole church here in earthe: you see where he saith he hath sufficiently proued it to be Christes pleasure, that there should be such an one heade, that he hath not nor could not (for if he could he would) alleage out of the new testament where Christes will and pleasure is written, and declared more largely and manifestly, as much as one worde touching to that purpose: so false of it is, that it is, as he saith sufficiently proued.

Nowell.

fo. 119. a.

72.

Thus I trust you see good Readers howe M. Nowell hating begonne with adye in the verie title of his booke, calling it a Reptrouse of my booke, which reproveth but only 15. leaues, hath continued and nowe endeth the same in such wise as the middle and ende maye appeare in all mennes iudgement to answer to the beginning. Yow see where he saith, that I haue not sufficiently proued it to be

Dorman.

Christes pleasure that there shoulde be one heade in his
steede in the whole church, because I alleaged no testi-
monie oute of the newe testament, that in restreining my
prouffes to the only newe testament and calling the testi-
monies brought out of the olde lawe (as he dothe hereaf-
ter) olde shadowes, while he reproveth my prouffes for
this cause, he semeth not to be farre from the heresie of
the Manichees, who condemned the olde testament. It
was not M. Nowell because I could not, that I alleaged
no proufe out of the newe testament. But the cause
(if you will nedes knowe it) was for this, that I thought it
best to viefuche testimonies as consisting in facts, and ha-
ving bene alreadye put in execution, you shoulde be lesse
able to cavill against: especially making my counte, that the
appointing of one chiefe prieste in the olde lawe being for
the benefite of Goddes people you woulde easily admitte
that Christe woulde be as beneficiall to his church in the
newe lawe. Otherwise I coulde have brought to you oute
of the gospell of S. Mathewe the wordes of oure Saviour
to S. Peere where he sayng these wordes: *And I tell the that
thow art Peter, and upon this rocke I will build my church:
and againe, what so ever thou shalt binde upon earthe, shall be
bounde in heauen, &c.* made Peter as Christom witnesseth,
Shepherd of the church, heade of the church, ruler over the who-
le worlde. I coulde have alleaged the place of S. Iohn where
Christe committing to Peter the charge of all his flocke
excepting none, made by that meanes one ruler of the who-
le, and committed *curiam* at his terracion, the charge of the
vniuersall worlde to Peter, as saith the same Christosto-
me. These places coulde I have alleaged and other also, had
it not bene to auoide wrangling, and for that, that I persua-
ded my selfe that this example take from the gouernement
of

Math. 16.

Homi. 55.
in Matth.

Ioan. vii.

Homi. in
cap. Ioan.
vi.

of Goddes people the Iues, shoulde be to all indifferent me-
sufficient enough to confirme my purpose, as til M. Nowell
confute it, it is.

You see that schismes and controuersies by S. Cyprians iud-
gement and S. Augustins, with 217. bishoppes moe assembled in the
African counsell with him, and by good reason and experien-
ce also, maye be beste quieted in the countries where they ar-
se.

Nowell.

You see that neither S. Cyprian, neither S. Augustine
neither the 217. bishoppes (amongest whome M. Nowell be-
fore nombred *Orosius* being no bishoppe but a prieste on-
ly, and Prosper a bishop of R hegnum in Italic and therefore
not like to be at anye counsell in Africa) neither yeat rea-
son or experience whiche reache the contrarye, doe saye
that schismes and controuersies maye be best quieted and
decided in the countries where they arise. That which they
saye, is ment of criminall causes, not of schismes, about do-
ctrine, as those wordes of S. Cyprian containing the reason
why he woulde haue suche causes hearde in the countries
where they happen being these, *but oughte there to make an-
swer to their causes where they maye haue excusers, and minis-
ters of their crimes*, doe well declare. And thus you see that this
is a manifold lye.

Dorman.

Supra cap.
11.

You see that it becommeth man, valuable well to gouerne a
verie little thinge, to humble him selfe and to yealde vp the ho-
nour and glory of gouerning the whole worlde and church to
God, &c.

Nowell.

You see by the example of Peter refusing of humilitie,
the seruice that Christ offred to him in washing his feete,
that true humilitie is to doe that whiche Christe biddeth
to be done. You see withall M. Nowella honestie, that to
deceiue the simple, vseth here these wordes, Yealde vp the ho-
nour

Dorman.

Joan, 13.

162
A DISPROUFE OF M. NOWELL
honor and glorie of governing the whole world and church to god,
as though any man so claimed the gouvernement of the
churche as that he woulde displace Christe thereof.

Nowell. Also you see that in this treatie hether to, as M. Dorman hath
not one worde out of the newe testament, so hath he alleaged but
only two textes out of the olde testament, one oute of Deuteron
cap. 17. &c. an other of Numeri. 16. which bothe make directly a-
gainst him. &c.

Dorman. You see and knowe I doubt not, that one texte of ho-
lye scripture is as good as a hundred. You see that M. No-
well goeth guilefully aboute to abuse the simple by this
terme (nation) as though because the Iues whiche were but
one nation had their chiefe prieste and high bishoppe, the-
refore there shoulde folowe thereof naught elles, but that
euerye nation countrey, diocesse or churche, shoulde haue
also their chiefe bishoppe, withoute anye one heade ouer
the whole: whereas the Iues althoughe they were but one
nation, were yett the chosen people and churche of God,
and emongest diuerse heades of seuerall tribues there was
ouer all those heades one chiefe heade. You haue seene that
of S. Cyprians applyng of this texte to inferiour magistra-
tes, can be gathered no necessary argument that it maye not
be otherwise applyed, that is to the higher. You haue seene
as many as haue readen my first booke. fol. 33. 34. 35. that
Moyses was a prieste, that yea there foloweth no absurdi-
rie of being two high priestes at once, because as S. Augu-
stine saith, they were bothe high priestes in diuerse res-
petes, the one in commaunding to be done; the other in ex-
ecuting thinges commaunded. And withall you see that we
are hereby M. Nowell vntuly burdened of disobedience
to oure Souereigne as not acknowledging suche auctori-
tye in the same ouer spirituall matters, as was in Moyses and
Aaron.

In quest.
super. Le-
uitic. lib. 3.
cap. 28.

Aaron.

VWherefore you maye well vnderstande that were it either profitable or necessary &c to haue such an one heade, God woulde haue certified vs of a thing so profitable and necessarie, more plainly and expressly then by t^{wo} olde shadowes of the iuishe church, which doe teache vs also the contrary.

Nowell.

God hath certified vs by building his church vpon one, by making one generall pastour ouer all the rest, that his pleasure was to appointe this maner of gouernement in his church. But what meane yow to finde faulte with the testimonies of the olde testament, calling them shadowes, and to demaunde other of the newe, hauing brought for youre opinion not so muche as one peece of a sentence, out of either the olde testament or the newe?

Dorman.

Matth 16.

1000. vlt.

Yow see howe blindly he going aboute to proue that there ought to be one onelye heade ouer all the church, bringeth in for proufe thereof the regiment of seuerall countries, kingdomes, cities &c. by seuerall princes, seuerall magistrates and heades, whiche maketh mooste directly with vs, that seuerall churches, should in likewise haue their seuerall heades.

Nowell.

fo. 120. a. 3

Yow see that oure question being whether the catholike church of Christe whiche is but one, ought to be ruled by one heade or manie: M. Nowell here like the blinde bayard that he speaketh of, saith that my example proueth for them that it ought to be ruled by manye, because many kingdomes haue many kinges: wherein yow see that diuiding the church which is but one, he goeth against the faith of the church. Yow see that he dissembleth my reason, which is, that as a kingdom because it is one is best ruled by one heade: so the church which is but one is best ruled by one heade. Yow see that to this reason hether to he neuer answered.

Dorman.

Fff

Yowe

A DISPROVE OF M.

Nowell.

Yow see how often S. Cyprian is by him alleaged for the po-
pe of Rome his supremacy, in those places where he speaketh of
Rogatian and of him selfe being bothe bishoppes &c.

Dormna.

Yow see howe the places of S. Cyprian and S. Hierom
expressely mainteining the superioritie of one about the
rest in euerye diocesse, with the cause added, for the auoi-
ding of schismes, brought by me to proue by more forci-
ble reason the necessitie of one heade ouer the whole, M.
Nowell wresteth to the directe prouing of the B. of Rome
his supremacy: wherof in that place as it was not my pur-
pose to intreate, so if I had, I had done preposterously and
confounded my appointed ordre of writing. Yow see ho-
we the place of S. Basile brought to declare the maner off
heretikes in contemning the auctoritie of their bishoppes,
he laieth to my charge vnruly, to haue bene brought as
spoken of the pope of Rome. Yow see that the compar-
ison made betwene Nouatus and oure protestantes of En-
gland holdeth in this, that either of them laboureth to
withdrawe the subiectes from their lafull obedience. Yow
haue heard good Readers the sory melodie of M. Nowelles
harpe, whereupon twanging on a false string he made a
shamefull lye, in saing that *Vrsinius* and *Valens* offred vp
their recantation as well to Athanasius as to Iulius the po-
pe. Yow see that he hath oftentimes beelied S. Cyprian and
S. Hierome, feining them to make all bishoppes equall in
auctoritie, and no one to be aboute the other. Yowe see his
owne inconstancie and disagreement withe him selfe, one
while affirming all bishoppes to be equall and none to be
aboute the other, an other while denieng, and making chie-
fe prelates in euerye prouince: yow see him reiecting pope
Leo as witnesse in his owne cause, and bringing in the
African to esbeare witnesse to them selues.

Yow

Yow see to deface pope Leo howe shamefully he sclandreth Zosimus, of whome the whole Africane councell wrote so reuerently. Yow see howe he burdeneth without all maner of proufe, *Celestinus* (of whome Prosper writeth so honorably) with other his successours, to haue forged a greate many of the epistles nowe abroad in the names of *Clement*, *Anacletus* &c. yowe see howe he spareth no iniurious wordes to Leo calling him theefe, noting him of ambition whome the councell of Calcedon called thrise blessed, and God honoured withe miracles. Yow see that he chalengeth vntroliethe copies of Leo to be contrarye one to an other. Yow see that he is a plaine makebate, and to mende his cause by setting the doctours at variance betwene them selues, how he heweth, mangleth, and cutteth awaie from the auctors that he alleageth, wordes, yea sentences to serue his purpose.

You see in defence of schismes howe he laboureth to finde vnquietnesse emongest the Apostles and disciples of Christe: you see that to deface vnitie, as he taketh it from the Apostles, so he attributeth it to the Phariseis and enemies of Christe. You see for lacke of weightier matter he chargeth vs with the disputable opinions of scholemen and logiciners, with dineritie of apparell, of diete and meates, which maners as you haue hearde, were. yeat emongest the religious in the primitiue church.

You see how often he repeateth and neuer proueth, that it is impossible for one man to gouerne the whole church. You see that Nazianzenes wordes were not alleaged by me as spoken of one pope, and that therefore therein as in manie other thinges he hath also beelied me.

You see the wordes of an auncient auctor printed with

A DISPROVVE OF M.

S. Austen, and of long time taken for him alleaged: why not as boldely M. Nowel as you without blusshing alleage a worcke by the title of being printed withe Chrysostome, and of long time taken for him?

And vniuersally you see M. Nowelles falsehode in translating, or fraude in corrupting, mangling, or adding to suche auctors as he dothe alleage: you see his lyes as thicke as leaues. You see my selfe discharged of suche false translating, corrupting, mangling, as here vntruly he reprocureth me of .5. tymes in the margent. Neither is his deceite and guile comparable to his impudency, as being not abashed to alleage the epistle of the African councell sent to Celestinus, for the proufe of a decree pretended to be made in the councell against appealing from thence to Rome, and sending legates from Rome thither, whereas there is no suche decree specified there. And thus you see good Readers, while M. Nowell in this long Reproufe of his, hath answered nothing to the scripture alleaged but mooste vainely and fondly this, that God hath provided better for his church then for the Synagoge by apointing ouer it many heades, where as the Synagoge had but one, and also that the Iues were but one nation &c. which answeres haue bene cōfuted before: while the argument taken from S. Cyprian and S. Hierom concluding that seing schismes be raised by not obeying the particuler heades of euery diocese, that then by greater reason schismes are like to growe in the vniuersall church, if emongest so manie heades there be not one chiefe heade to rule the rest, is not yet soluted: while the reason that euerie seuerall companie that is one, ought to haue a seuerall heade to rule the same, applied to the church, hath not hetherto bene answered, the only reason that M. Nowel leaneth to to the contrarie, that it is impos-

fol. 120.
b. 30.

1.

2.

3.

impossible for one man to gouerne the whole church
being directed by the spirit of God (for otherwise we af-
firme it not) neuer being proued: it foloweth, that my prou-
fes by the scripture, by the mindes of the auncient fathers,
by good and probable reason, stande vpright against youre
wringling Reprouse M. Nowell.

Youre charging of me with impertinent discourtesie
answered before: let the iudgement of that matter be refer-
red to the learned reader. But beholde nowe foloweth Mi
Nowelles conclusion.

Seing therefore this first and moste principall point of one
heade of the church is not proued &c. all the popes supremacy
commeth downe vpon their heades.

If I had proued this first point as weakely as you woul-
de make men beleue I haue, or not proued it all, yea com-
meth not downe the popes supremacy, as before in the be-
ginning of the .ii. chapitre I shewed. And therefore for the
councell that you giue me here out of time, to recoyle
from this *Thesis* of one heade of the church, to the *Hypo-
thesis* of the pope heade of the church, as there is no nede
to admit it, so there is no cause to thanke you for it.

You saie that I haue placed in the residue of my booke
as in the rereward, bag and baggage, with the such pages, drudges
and slaues to attende vpon the same, as are more readie to runne
away then to abide anie brunt of battaile. The which (saie you)
I haue not as yet assailed, for that I saw the B. of Sarisbury his ha-
de bent vpon them, whose heades if anie of that cowardly compa-
ny escape &c. I promise to haue them shortly in the chaine, vntill
I haue left of all M. Dormans bragging but moste cowardly army
of lewde popishe reasons and allegations, not as much as one soule
diour vntaken or put to shamerull flight.

Take heade what you doe and aske counsel of your wife.
It is possible that the fauourable aspect of Venus may mo-

Fff. 3 derate

4.

Nowell.

Dorman.

Nowell.

Dorman.

destrate your Martiall fury. In any case, if this great bishop-
pes bande that you speake of, encountre not with this co-
wardly company (as I heare saye he hath inough to doe al-
ready and wil combre him selfe with no more) venture not
your owne person so good a mannes bodye against suche
drudges and slaues: Against whom as it is possible that you
may take some hurt, so are you sur neuer to gett honour.
What should so valiant a capitaine as ful oftē times you ha-
ue at Pauls crosse shewed your selfe to be, when that cora-
giouse stomacke of youres hath prouoked the papistes to
meete with you when they durst, whose daggers were as
sharpe as thens you tolde the: when you offered your selfe
with a small cōpanie, but yeat so that they were of the same
spirite that you are, to kepe Newehauen against all the po-
wer of Fraunce; when it woulde you laide doe youre harte
good to rase youre buckler vpon a papistes face: What
shoulde I saye, for singuler a capitaine matche him selfe
with suche a sorte of pages, drudges, and slaues as were tho-
se mecocke and dastardly bishoppes assembled in the cou-
celles of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, Calcedon: as were
Ignatius, Policarpus, Irineus, Ambrose, Hierome, Augusti-
ne, Chrysostome, Athanasius, Theodoret, Leo, Innocen-
tius, whome I placed as it were in the rerewarde, more like-
lier as you saye to runne awaye, or to bide by it and laye
their heades vpon the blocke, then to plaie the tolle
buckler, to kepe a holde with you, or to dye in the fielde
armed with youre maister Swinglius. But thanked be God
this is but youre opinion, and a fewe other suche Bulliners
as you are: amongest the learned they haue bene allwayes
taken to be as they are, *triary milites*, of the verie best soul-
diers M. Nowell.

Beholde
what pa-
ges drud-
ges and
slaues. M.
Nowell
hath fou-
de oute.

Of this question, whether a laye man, a
woman or a childe maye

be head of the
church.

The last Chapitre.

THIS being the second point of my purposed ordre, to proue that the partye that shoulde gouerne in spirituall matters, ought to be a prieste no laye man, &c. it is a worlde to see howe M. Nowell bestyrreth him selfe aboute it, and whereas he dareth not come neare to it, howe yea he reacheth at it a farre of, as it were with a long pole on a morispike, and so labourerth to saue his honour as well as maye be. For he saith that I proue those thinges whiche no man dothe denye, to witte, that no prince, man, woman nor childe, maie minstre the sacramentes, preache, excommunicate and absolue, &c. And lo this is the ioly pretense that M. Nowell maketh to shifte his handes of this seconde pointe, as that wherein for excuse of his silence he saith, that there is no nede to write or saye anye thinge, because I haue no ennemie at all. And therefore he addeth.

For M. Dorman can not be ignorant, that we in all oure Sermones and writings of suche matters, doe make a moste cleere and euident difference betwene, the functions and offices of princes ciuile magistrates, and priestes ecclesiasticall ministres: and neither did we euer teache that princes ought, neither did they euer desire to execute, the offices ecclesiasticall off ministring the Sacramentes, preaching excommunicating, absolving and suche like.

I am not ignorant in deede of this qualification of yours, inuented the rather to inioice some feely soules to the taking of youre othe. Whome in deede I maye well call feely that

Nowell.
fol. 123.
2.25.

Dorman.

ly that will thereby any thing the sooner be moved. For you-
 re selfe are not ignoraunt I trowe M. Nowell, that the cau-
 ses why we stande with you in this matter, are not onelye
 for ministring the Sacramentes, for preaching, excommu-
 nicating, absoluing, but as I tolde you, and you here guile-
 fully conceale, this power extendeth farder, to the giuing
 and making of lawes for the churche, to auctoritie to iud-
 ge of doctrines wherewith the members must be fedde, whe-
 ther it be soude or otherwise: for these be offices that belö-
 ge to the heade not to the members, excepte you will saie that
 the sheepe ought to iudge what meate is conuenient for
 them, not the shepherde. Againe to appeale schismes, is the
 office not of inferior members but of the heade it selfe, and
 yea belongeth as youre selfe haue graunted, to the chiefe
 prelates of euery prouince. Finally to be heade of the chur-
 che is to haue the gouernement of so manye soules as be in
 that churche, which because no laye man &c. can haue in
 particuler bishopricks, it foloweth that none can haue o-
 uer the whole churches of a realme vnited. Of the whiche
 matter Chrysostome saith: *Et quam de ecclesie prefectura,
 de erodenda huic vetilli tam multarum animarum cura agitur,
 vniuersa quidem muliebris natura functionis istius moli ac mag-
 nitudini cedat oportet, itemq; et bona virorum pars.* But when
 the question is of the gouernement of the churche, of the
 committing to this man or that the charge of so many sou-
 les, then must all the kinde of women giue place to the bur-
 den and greatnes of this office, yea and a greate parte of
 men also.

Note
 this rea-
 son.

Lib. 2. de
 sacerdotio.

You bring the examples of king Dauid, Salomon, &c.
 who you saie had auctoritie in gouerning of the cleargie
 and church matters, though they might not execute all
 ecclesiasticall functions and offices. This matter is answered in

red in my first booke fol. 31. & sequ. Thither I referre the Reader.

What though our moste graciouse souereigne ladye being a woman, haue not so greates skill in feates of warre as haue her capitaines, haue not so good knowledge in the lawes of her realme as her Iustices, and other learned men in the lawes haue, (thoughe she haue in al good learning and in the scriptures toe, more knowledge then had anie of your popes these seuen hundred yeares beleue, and therefore no lette in that pointe, but she maie be heade of the whole church as well and rather then the pope. What if she sitte not in publike iudgement, nor determine controuerfies as doe her Iustices, &c. what I saie if she can not execute all ciuile offices in her owne persone, woulde you therefore take from her, her ciuile principalitie, &c? Suerly you maie with as good reason doe it, as you would take awaie her superioritie ouer her cleargie from her, for that she can not, maie not, nor will not execute ecclesiasticall functions.

Nowell.

Your comparison is false M. Nowell. For there is no lawe neither of goddes nor mannes, that forbiddeth a Quene althoughe a woman, to sitte in iudgement, or to be present with her armye in battaile, as Delbora did both. So that the not doing herof proceedeth not of lacke of habilitie or power, as contrarywise it doth that the prince meddleth not with ecclesiasticall matters, whose condition in that, that he is a laie man maketh him vnable for that function. Whereas M. Nowell noteth the Quenes maiestie to haue more knowledge in all good learning and in the scriptures toe, then had anie pope these seuen hundred yeares, as I am not he that would abase those her maiesties rare giftes of excellent learning and princely qualities, farre more plentifully by the goodnesse of God bestowed vpon her, then anie other so noble prince, man or woman, that this daie liueth, but as my bounden dutie is, rendre moste humble thanckes to almighty God therefore: so can I in no wise but abhorre this moste impudent parasite good Reader, who vpon his beeliefe (as

Dorman.

Indic. cap.
5.

Ggg

though

A DISPROVE OF M.

A lye. 82.

though he had made neuer a lye in all this booke before, addeth this of all other the moſte ſhamefull. Which I nee thing doubt but her graces moſte rare modeſtie can ſo euill abide to here, that longe ere this ſhe hath iudged him in her princely harte to be as he is, a vaine lyer and ſhameleſſe paraſite. Whome if her grace ſhoulde commaunde to be rewarded for his labour, as Sigismunde the emperour rewarded one of the ſame profeſſion, whome praſing him aboute meaſure he buſſeted as faſt, anſwering him when he asked: why beateſt thou me Emperour, why biteſt thou me flatterer: as the reward were princely for ſuche a gift, ſo were the faſt worthy ſo mightie a prince. But nowe to the good Reader, what cauſe haſte thoue to truſt hereafter this mans beliefe in anie matter touching the pope, the learning conſidered of Innocentius the thirde, Aeneas Silvius called Pius the 2. Adrianus 6. Marcelinus 2. Paulus 4. and Pius 4. that nowe is, and diuerſe other within that compaſſe, as to the Learned is not ynknowne. This paraſite ſtaith not here but going farther ſayeth.

An Emperours
rewarde
for a flatterer.

Aeneas
Silvius
li. 2. Com.
de reb. geſt.
Alphonſi.

Nowell.
fol. 124. a.

* VVhat
if the prin
ge liſted?

Dornian.

Though the Quenes maiestie haue not that vnderſtanding of all the affaires of her realme, that experience in all things, that ac- riuſtie in executing them, that hath the whole bodye of her moſte honorable counſel, yea dothe the whole bodye of her counſell though moſte honorable, humbly acknowledge her to be their heade, only proude priettes becauſe ſome things are incident to their office, which the prince maye not nor liſt not to doe, reſuſe their Soueraigne to be their ſupreme gouernour.

You beely all priettes M. Nowell, and maye be aſhamed to make the biſhoppes only counſellors in religion, whom before you confeſſed by S. Cyprians minde to be iudges in earthe in Chriſtes ſteede, whereas you would here make them no iudges, or iudges in the princes ſteede. You deale vntruly

vnruly to sleaundre the cleargie as you doe. In whose defence I wil saye as S. Ambrose did to those that objected to him the Emperours auctoritie in matters of religion. *Solumus quae sunt Caesaris Caesari, & quae sunt dei, deo. Tributum Caesaris est, non negatur. Ecclesia dei est, Caesari utique non debet addici, quia ius Caesaris esse non potest templum dei. Quod cum honorificentia Imperatoris nemo dictum potest negare. Quid enim honorificentius quam ut imperator ecclesia filius esse dicatur? Quod sine peccato dicitur, cum gratia dicitur: Imperator enim bonus in ira ecclesiam, non supra ecclesiam est.* We paye to Cesar that which is his, and to God that whiche belongeth to God. Tribute is due to Cesar, it is not denied him. The church is goddes it maye not apperteine to Cesar, because the temple of God, can not be Czsars right. The whiche no man can denie to be saied but with the Emperours honour. For what is more honorable then for the Emperour to be called the sonne of the church? The whiche when it is said, it is spoken with fauour, without offence. For a good Emperour is within the church not aboue the church. Thus muche S. Ambrose, a proude prieste by youre iudgement, because he acknowledged not the Emperour to be his supreme gouernour in causes ecclesiasticall. But because you thinke M. Nowell and saye also, that I haue lewdely abused my selfe in confuting that whiche no man holdeth, I will make it appeare that you haue lewdely done in so saing, and that I went not about to proue that the heade is not the heade because it can not, or list not doe all offices of all the principall members of the bodie, which you saie vnruly is the effecte of all my seconde long treaty, but that temporall princes can not be the heades because they can not doe the office of the heade. The whiche to proue I will alleage youre owne wordes, wherein the parte of a heade you saye consisteth.

Ggg

They

Lib. 4. ep.

32.

A DISPROVVE OF M.

They are these.

Nowell.

To commaunde thinges aswell ecclesiasticall as ciuile to be done, to see them done, to commende and rewarde all well doers of them, to correct and punishe alleuill doers of them, or negligent in their office, is the parte of a heade or supream gouernour, to doe thinges commaunded is the office of inferiour membres and obedient subiectes.

Dorman.

We haue now good Reader M. Nowels owne limitatio wherein the office of the heade of the church consisteth. I praie the cōsidre when I alleaged scripture, *that the gouernement of the church was cōmitted to bishoppes and priestes, that they must be obeyed which watche for oure sōules*, spoken also of priestes: when I alleaged the blessed martyr Ignarus bidding vs first to honour God, nexte the bishop as bearing his image, and then after that the king, willing all the people to obeye the Emperour, the Emperour to obey the bishop, the bishop Christe &c. whē I alleaged the exāple of Constantine the first Christian Emperour, refusing to iudge ouer bishoppes, because God had giuen them power to iudge him: when I alleaged these wordes of S. Ambrose to the Emperour: *Quando audisti clementissime imperator in causa fidei laicos de episcopo iudicasse? Ita ergo quadā adulatione curuamur. ut sacerdotalis iuris simus immemores, & quod deus donauit mihi, hoc ipse putem alijs esse credendum? Si docendus est episcopus a laico quid sequitur? Laicus ergo disputer & episcopus audiat, episcopus discat a laico. At certe si uel scripturam seriem diuinam, uel uetera tempora retrahemus, quis est qui abnuat in causa fidei, in causa inquam fidei episcopus solere de imperatoribus, non imperatores de episcopis iudicare? Eris deo fauente, etiam senectutis maturitate prouectior, & tunc de hoc censebis qualis ille episcopus sit qui laicis ius sacerdotale substernit.* That is to saye, when haue you hearde moste gentle Emperour, that laye men haue iudged of the bishop? Be we therefore so crookened withe

Act. 20.

Hebr. 13.

Epist. ad
Smirne, es.

Epist. ad
Piladel.
phenes.

Lib. 10.
cap. 2. eccl.
histor.
Ambros.
lib. 5. epi.
32.

him selfe, whiche he was suer he shoulde neuer be able to
answere.

Lib. 4.
epist. 9.

A singu-
liertesti-
monie for
the chur-
che of
Rome. It
maye be
added be-
fore.
fol. 192. b.
Psal. contra
persecu-
tantes.

Wherefore nowe to conclude with you M. Nowell, I
will giue you this frendely counsell for a farewell, to stritue
no longer against priestes, lest it happen to you that the
blessed Martyr S. Cyprian saith was reuealed to him. *Qui
Christo non credit sacerdotem facientem, postea credere in ipse sa-
cerdotem vindicabit.* He that beleueth not Christ appointing
the priestes, shall after begin to beleue him reueing the
prieste. Struggle no longer against the See of Rome, of the
which S. Augustine saith: *Ipsa est sedes Petri quam non vin-
cunt superba inferorum porte.* That See is the rocke
whiche the proude gates of hell shall not over-
come. For if you doe, you are like to lea-
se youre labour as you see, except
a lymme you thinke be able
to doe more then the
wide gates off
the diuells
palace.

(? ?)

Deo Gratias.

*Quandoquidem Liber iste perlectus & approbatus est a viris
Sacrae Theologie & lingue Anglicanae peritissimis, iudico eum
suo posse imprimi & euulgari.*

*Ita testor & iudico Cunerus Petri,
pastor Sancti Petri Louanensis.
16. Octobris Anno. 1561.*

80062

